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# ***JPRS Report***

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## **Near East & South Asia**

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# Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-89-020

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## REGIONAL

### Arab Land Threatened With Desertification

44040235 Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic  
4 Feb 89 p 28

[Article: "Desertification Threatens 98 Percent of Arab Land"]

[Text] According to international studies conducted by the FAO [UN Food and Agriculture Organization], 98 percent of the land in Arab countries is threatened with desertification. As a result of this desertification and its effects, the loss in agricultural production worldwide amounted to \$26 billion a year. The cost of a 20-year antidesertification program has been estimated at approximately \$4.5 billion a year.

It is estimated that 65 percent of the land in the Arab world is very much affected by desertification. The detailed study on Arab countries in West Asia, which was previously conducted by the United Nations' Environmental Program, made it clear that the total area of cultivated land in those countries amounts to 18.5 million hectares, which represents approximately 1 percent of the total area of the Gulf region and the Arabian Peninsula. By comparison, 17.4 percent of the total area in Syria and Jordan is cultivated land.

In Egypt the area of cultivated land amounts to 2.8 million hectares, which is 2.8 percent of the total area of Egypt. The percentage of cultivated land in Egypt continues to increase, but both the rate of increase and the area of land which has been added to the cultivated area have been modest and not commensurate with the annual increase in the population. At any rate the per capita share of cultivated land in Arab countries in West Asia could decline by 40 percent during the period from 1961 to 1978. That would cause the per capita quota and share of cultivated land to drop from about 0.17 hectares to about 0.03 hectares. In 1979 the area of land used to cultivate grain amounted to 8.9 million hectares, and that meant the per capita share was less than 0.1 percent of one hectare. By comparison, the per capita share worldwide is 0.17 hectares.

It was also stated that the growing number of animals led to the desertification of pasture land. It turned out that more than half the pasture land in Tunisia has been affected by severe desertification, and it became clear that a similar portion of pasture land in Morocco is suffering from the same degree of desertification.

Erroneous practices used in irrigating arid land which has been cultivated have affected the land. The soil became salty or alkaline, and vast areas of fertile land were saturated with water. In recent years overdrilling wells for irrigation purposes reduced the level of ground water, and some wells are now dry.

Regarding the removal of forests and trees for a variety of purposes, forests and trees in general have deteriorated. In the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula the rate of deterioration has been 3.8 percent. In Syria and Jordan the rate of deterioration between 1961 and 1978 was 18 percent. But in Iraq, 23 percent of the forests and trees have been lost, and in Lebanon, 20 percent.

The study attributed this desertification to human factors. Pressure from people and animals on available resources, inappropriate ways and methods of land use under growing pressure from the population, and the introduction and application of modern technology are among those factors which, according to the study, contributed to the process.

The study affirmed that fighting desertification earnestly and exhaustively means ultimately repairing the environment [and achieving] food security and self-sufficiency. It also means bringing about the desired balance between the population and resources. The study indicated that understanding the close connection between the process of desertification and efforts to fight it will go a long way to bring citizens and decisionmakers together on the side of fighting the battle against desertification.

## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### PLO Official Condemns 'U.S. Interference in Internal Affairs'

44040267 Nicosia FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic  
29 Jan 89 p 9

[Article: "Official Spokesman: Ilyas Furayj Is Citizen and PLO Protects His Rights; Let Washington Stay Clear Of 'Our Internal Affairs'"]

[Text] On 20 January 1989, a PLO official spokesman made the following statement in Baghdad: "At a time when President Bush is inaugurated officially, a number of U.S. officials are launching a misleading campaign against brother Abu 'Ammar, the PLO Executive Committee chairman, using false information, ignoring the facts, camouflaging the organized terror unleashed by the Israeli occupation forces against our people, and disregarding the Israeli leaders' threats to assassinate the Palestinian leaderships.

"We are eager to clarify the following points:

"Abu 'Ammar's alleged threat against Bethlehem Mayor Furayj is completely fabricated and intentionally distorted in order to provoke a totally groundless issue.

"The most eloquent proof of this is that Ilyas Furayj has denied in part and parcel the report carried by the NEW YORK TIMES and other media.

"It is truly regrettable that some U.S. officials continue to use fabricated reports and reports propagated by Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens to cover the real and ugly crimes committed by the Israeli occupation forces against our people in the occupied Palestinian territories.

"We do not at all doubt that this fabrication campaign is being launched now to cover up the brutal, inhuman, and insane escalation currently practiced by the Israeli occupation forces against our people on frank and clear instructions from the Israeli Government.

"In this regard, we are eager to clarify the following:

"First, Ilyas Furayj is a Palestinian citizen. The PLO, not the U.S. administration, has pledged to protect his rights. We consider this an interference in our internal affairs. Meanwhile, Ilyas Furayj has denied that he has received any threats.

"Second, these U.S. officials who circulate these false reports contribute to encouraging the Israeli occupation forces to perpetrate crimes against our people and to trying to cover up these crimes.

"While concentrating on these fabricated reports, these officials are disregarding the daily killings perpetrated against our people and ignoring threats openly made by Israel's leaders to assassinate Palestinian leaders, the latest being Sharon's threat to assassinate brother Abu 'Ammar, the PLO Executive Committee chairman.

"Third, the statements made by (U.S. State Department Spokesman Charles) Redman and by other officials are clear attempts to cover up the crimes of the Israeli escalation and Israeli terrorism against our children, women and people. These statements use fabricated reports at a time when the Israeli peace forces demonstrate to express their condemnation of Israeli Army's crimes against our people and the new policy of escalating the official and organized Israeli terrorism.

"The continuation of this misleading campaign is truly regrettable. We hope that President Bush, who will be inaugurated today, will move the wheel of peace in the area forward and will stand against the continued occupation of our territories and homeland and against the Israeli policy of escalating terrorism against our people, children and women."

**'Arafat Interviewed on Palestine, U.S., Syria, Lebanon**

*44040265 Beirut AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 13 Feb 89 pp 4-8*

[Interview with PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat: "In Comprehensive Interview With AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI, 'Arafat Says: Committee Will Succeed and Arabs Will Not Allow Lebanon To Be Lost; President of Republic Will Be Elected Either in Greater Beirut or at League; League Deals With 'Awn on Basis That He Is, According to Constitution, Head of Provisional Government; I Am Optimistic Over U.S. Dealing With Me; My Dialogue With Syria Fell Soon as It Started; Egypt Departed Without Consensus and It Can

Return Without Consensus; Israel Is Preparing Scenario of War to al-Awwali in South and Bayadir al-'Adas in al-Biqa'; Had Iran Triumphed, We Would Have Entered into Something Similar to Ottoman Era; In Wake of Iraq's Victory and of Occupied Territories Intifadah, Arab Times Are no Longer Bad" by Jubran Tuwayni in Tunis—date not given]

[Text] Tunis—At 0030, the telephone rang in our room at the Hilton Hotel in Tunis.

"Abu 'Ammar is awaiting you. The interview is tonight. Don't be late..."

This is what the official at the office of the "father," as they call him, told us. We had contacted him in the afternoon when we learned of his return to Tunis through his visit to the Lebanese Embassy to meet with Prime Minister Michel 'Awn.

We headed for the "father's" residence. When we entered the house, he received us, saying: "Welcome. Today is Lebanon's long day."

Between his meeting with General 'Awn and the dinner reception he had given the Arab foreign ministers participating in the Arab Committee, Abu 'Ammar had discussed all aspects of the Lebanese issue.

As usual, we began our meetings with a marginal chat, which is not for publication, and then started the interview which lasted from 0200 to 0400.

Abu 'Ammar has been relaxed since he proclaimed the Palestinian state. The Abu 'Ammar we interviewed in Tunis today is totally different from the Abu 'Ammar we interviewed in Baghdad in the wake of Abu Jihad's assassination.

The signs of anxiety have disappeared from his face, especially since he is now in full control of the Palestinian card.

"You see, Jubran, the independent Palestinian decision-making has triumphed. May Lebanon be next. I am certain that the independent Lebanese decision-making will triumph someday in the very near future."

Abu 'Ammar is fully satisfied with the six-member committee's activities and with the Kuwaiti movement being made by Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad, Kuwait's foreign minister and the committee chairman. Abu 'Ammar is relaxed this time and he believes that the Arabs are serious in their procession to rescue Lebanon or, rather, in the procession to help Lebanon overcome its crisis.

He believes that the international climate will permit not only our motherland to be saved but also all international issues to enter the phase of "relaxation" and of guaranteed solutions.

He also believes that the international detente will inevitably help solve the Palestinian issue now that geographic recognition of the issue, which has been recognized politically, is within "a stone's throw."

"We have entered the final quarter hour." He says it positively, firmly and confidently.

He challenges Israel and its officials, believing that the Israeli people have fully realized that there is no salvation without dealing with the PLO to solve the problem.

The intifadah [uprising] will continue until the dream is realized. The intifadah continues. Rather, it is the main mover which permitted and which contributed effectively to proclamation of the Palestinian state and especially to making most countries of the world, including the United States, recognize the PLO.

As for the U.S. role or U.S. movement, it is serious and it will flow into the course of solving the issue.

As for the outlaws, those who "rose" one day against the PLO and cast doubts on it, 'Arafat does not recognize them and "does not waste his time" talking about them. What is important are the Palestinian people and their opinion and, especially, the results.

The people have supported the PLO and their support is reflected through the intifadah. The results are embodied in proclamation of the Palestinian state, in the international recognition of this state and in the recognition by all countries that the PLO is the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative.

"You see, men," says Abu 'Ammar to us, "a people who believe in their cause and who struggle and stand fast for it must, along with their cause, inevitably triumph in the end. This is why I am certain that the good Lebanese people will, along with Lebanon, triumph over all the plots."

'Arafat is right. The Palestinian revolution he has led has now triumphed and Palestine is recognized politically, with the geographic recognition to follow. This is more difficult. Abu 'Ammar has given his people the international right to existence. Geography [presumably geographic recognition] is "on the way" and will not be late in coming.

In any case, the 'Arafat we interviewed this night is this struggler who is wearing his military uniform and who has his revolutionary ideas and his diplomatic language. Today, he is tantamount to the first president of the republic of Palestine.

In the interview, he told us: "Lebanon will not be partitioned, will not be fragmented and will not be annexed. The Arabs do not need another Palestine. One Palestine is enough for them..."

These words are true. But what is truer is that the Lebanese people, both Muslims and Christians, have now fully realized that the plot's objective is to eliminate the motherland. This is why the people will stand fast and will struggle as the Palestinian people have struggled, even more, to regain their land and their right to an honorable life.

Moreover, we can say today that the solution to our problem is also within a stone's throw. Lebanon has entered the solution phase and this phase will not be long.

This is what we have concluded from our interviews in Tunis with Abu 'Ammar and with a number of Arab officials.

Lebanon has now moved from the phase of the dynamism of war to the phase of the dynamism of peace.

Our appointment with peace has become imminent. Thanks to our people who have stood fast, have defended and have day after day throughout 14 years paid the price of regaining their dignity and their sovereignty and of establishing peace—peace for the rising generations.

The year 1988 was the year of the triumph of the independent Palestinian decision-making. The Palestinian issue is one of the most important causes of the ongoing war in our land.

Will 1989 be the year of the triumph of the independent Lebanese decision-making and of snatching the motherland land from the plot's fangs?

Yes, God willing. Rather, yes, definitely.

[AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI] Our interview with you today, now that the Palestinian state has been proclaimed, is an interview with the president of a republic...

[Arafat] No.

[AL-NAHAR] With a head of state?

[Arafat] Not a head of state either.

[AL-NAHAR] With a state founder?

[Arafat] The state founder is the PLO.

[AL-NAHAR] Then a state restorer?

[Arafat] The one who restored this state is the Palestinian child...

[AL-NAHAR] Then what title do you give yourself now that the Palestinian state has been proclaimed?

[Arafat] I am a struggler for freedom.

[AL-NAHAR] These are modest words. But what is the real title you want for yourself?

[Arafat] This is the most magnificent and admirable title.

[AL-NAHAR] But this struggler is the one who proclaimed foundation of the Palestinian state.

[Arafat] I will not judge myself now.

[AL-NAHAR] But the past is the party that has made the judgement.

[Arafat] History's judgement is the most important thing.

[AL-NAHAR] Now that the Palestinian state has been proclaimed, we ask you: Were you afraid that you would not be able to proclaim this state?

[Arafat] No. You may recall that in the intifadah's initial days late last January and early February, we and our colleagues in the Unified [National] Command were discussing this issue and papers were being "shuttled between us." If you also recall, it was after this discussion that a paper was leaked from Faysal al-Husayni's office. In the wake of that leak, the Israelis became aware of the provisional government and of the state as well.

[AL-NAHAR] You have accomplished the state.

[Arafat] The state has been accomplished politically. It has been recognized by the entire world, including the United States. The dialogue which has been launched on the basis of my address to the United Nations is tantamount to an extension of the resolutions we adopted at the PNC's special session in Algiers. Recognition of the state, be it official, political or a de facto recognition, has made it known that Palestine exists anew and that the Palestinian state is on the political map. What exists on the political map will come to exist on the geographic map.

[AL-NAHAR] Which is more difficult: To exist on the political map or to exist on the geographic map?

[Arafat] At one time in history, for example in 1946, 1947, and 1948, we existed on the geographic map. But the international political resolution then rejected us.

[AL-NAHAR] Do you consider this map—the map partitioning Palestine—an inlet to a solution for the Palestinian geographic entity?

[Arafat] The PNC has approved proclamation of the independent Palestinian state on the basis of resolution 181 despite the historic injustice, as I have noted. Thus, we proceeded from this background, which is the background of international legitimacy.

[AL-NAHAR] Has there been any Arab or international opposition to the plan proclaiming the Palestinian state?

[Arafat] No, no. I am surprised by the consensus with which proclamation of the independent Palestinian state plan has been met.

[AL-NAHAR] You have imposed the consensus. But did you face a war during the march which led to the proclamation?

[Arafat] Of course, of course. At all levels and inside and outside the occupied territories, as well as in the bloodshed which has not stopped for a single moment.

[AL-NAHAR] Do you think that the camp war in Beirut has been a part of this war against proclamation of the state?

[Arafaat] Of course. One of the things that sought to kill the intifadah has been the camp war. Don't forget that the intifadah started practically at the end of 1986 when the refugee camps in Beirut were being shelled. We asked our kinsmen to demonstrate in support of these camps. An Arab committee was formed at the time to deal with the camps issue.

#### U.S. Decision Has Changed

[AL-NAHAR] What changed the U.S. decision on not negotiating with you?

[Arafat] Three developments have occurred at three levels:

- At the international level, the development is summed up in the accord between the two superpowers. Within the framework of this international accord, the two superpowers have agreed to solve the hot issues, including the Middle East issue (Palestine issue).
- At the Arab level, there have been new developments and facts, the first of which is the victory scored by Iraq, the Arab nation's eastern gate, and the strategic reflection of this victory on the entire Middle East situation. There is then the restoration of Arab solidarity, especially restoration of the Arab-Egyptian and Egyptian-Arab relations, i.e. Egypt's return to the Arabs and the Arabs' return to Egypt. There are also the strategic weapons acquired by the Arabs for the first time.
- At the Palestinian level, there is the intifadah first, then the Palestinian unity and the Palestinian steadfastness in Lebanon at a time when some people came

to believe that the Palestinian presence in Lebanon would be wiped out.

These are the three developments which have produced these changes. The developments were the main base on which the decision to proclaim the Palestinian state was built.

[AL-NAHAR] Is the U.S. recognition of the Palestinian role serious and final and are you optimistic over the U.S. dealing with you?

[Arafat] I evaluate the latest statement made by President Bush positively.

[AL-NAHAR] Does this mean that you are more satisfied with the new administration than with the previous administration?

[Arafat] I cannot say that I am more satisfied with the new administration than with the previous administration. I am satisfied with the continuity. However, the future will reveal how they actually deal with me.

[AL-NAHAR] But have the meetings held between you and the U.S. Government representatives made you conclude that there is a serious U.S. endeavor in your direction?

[Arafat] Yes. A positive and constructive spirit has prevailed in all the ambassadorial-level meetings that have taken place so far, beginning with the first meeting. As I have already noted, we presented a number of issues from our viewpoint as a step on the path of positive openness between us and them. We are now awaiting a positive move by the U.S. Administration after it establishes itself firmly within 1-1 and 1/2 months.

[AL-NAHAR] Is there a change in the Israeli position?

[Arafat] What, precisely, do you mean?

[AL-NAHAR] Do you view the Israeli efforts to present alternative solution plans as an endeavor to outflank the [Palestinian] state and its future?

[Arafat] These efforts are tantamount to an abortive attempt to overcome the crisis. Even Israel's friends in the west have viewed these endeavors as abortive endeavors. There is confusion in the Israeli initiatives.

#### Intifadah Will Continue

[AL-NAHAR] Will the intifadah continue?

[Arafat] It will continue despite all the violence practiced by the occupying Israeli authorities, the armed settlers and the Israeli Government, practices beginning

with exorbitant taxes (our citizens pay 38 types of taxes) and ending with permits to travel to Jordan across the bridge, each of which costs 60 dinars or \$140. This is robbery.

[AL-NAHAR] How much time do you give Israel before it embarks on negotiation with the PLO?

[Arafat] We are here and they are here, and there is ample time. I am a very, very patient man.

[AL-NAHAR] You are a patient man. How about them?

[Arafat] It is well known that they are impatient.

[AL-NAHAR] Meaning?

[Arafat] Meaning that I have already said that the state is within a stone's throw.

[AL-NAHAR] In terms of time and years, what does a stone's throw mean?

[Arafat] It means that things are in the final quarter hour.

[AL-NAHAR] Does this mean several months, a quarter year?

[Arafat] Remember what I told Rabin at the outset of the final push for the intifadah which began on 8 December 1987. Two weeks later, Rabin was lecturing in Europe and he was asked about what was happening in the occupied territories. He responded: They are the demagogues. When I return home in 2 days, I will end the problem. A few hours later, I received the content of Rabin's statements. I responded, challenging Rabin and telling him: You have 2 days, 2 weeks, 2 months and 2 years. We are here and you are here and there is ample time.

[AL-NAHAR] In your opinion, do the Israeli people support their government's refusal to negotiate with the PLO?

[Arafat] It is no coincidence that the results of a poll conveyed by an institution controlled by the Israeli Government show that 54 percent of the Israeli people support negotiations with the PLO to establish peace.

[AL-NAHAR] So, you can call for an Israeli uprising [intifadah].

[Arafat] It is also no coincidence that an Israeli officer from the Jami'ati [presumably meaning Golani] Brigade, which is known for trying to control Nablus, said while Shamir was visiting and having a discussion with his troops: We are ashamed of ourselves for killing children who throw stones at us.

[AL-NAHAR] Is this an important indicator?

[Arafat] Of course. It is in these dialogues that the Israelis challenge their leadership. Some of them, including Abba Eban and a number of Knesset members, come to Paris [for dialogue with us].

**Government, When?**

[AL-NAHAR] You now have your state. What about the government?

[Arafat] Don't forget that the PNC has resolved that the Executive Committee should provisionally act as the government until a government is formed.

[AL-NAHAR] So the state does have its government?

[Arafat] Yes. We act as the government. It is on this basis that recognition has been given to the embassies of the PLO state, now numbering 96 embassies. This is one of the secrets of the mediation made by the Swedish team which held talks with the PLO in its capacity as the party acting as the Palestinian provisional government.

[AL-NAHAR] When will the new government be formed?

[Arafat] We are holding dialogues and contacts on this issue with our leadership at home and our leadership abroad and we are pondering whether the government should be a political government or a technocratic government.

[AL-NAHAR] Who opposes a government and who has opposed proclamation of the Palestinian state or the attempt to establish a Palestinian state?

[Arafat] The Palestinian people in their entirety support a government, as they have supported the state.

[AL-NAHAR] Even the dissident leaders?

[Arafat] You are talking of leaders and I am talking of the Palestinian people. I have no connection with the intelligence agencies' puppets.

[AL-NAHAR] Do you consider the proclamation of a Palestinian state to be a blow against these dissidents?

[Arafat] There are some opinions expressed by some interpreters, such as the religious groups. At the outset, they took a certain position toward the proclamation. But when they saw the sweeping current, they changed their position and said: We support the state. However, they have reservations on Resolution 242, as the Popular Front has its reservation on the same resolution. We respect this opinion. But the resolution [to proclaim the state] was taken by 83 percent of the votes.

[AL-NAHAR] Has the independent Palestinian decision making been accomplished?

[Arafat] Yes. With proclamation of the Palestinian independence, we have entrenched forever the independent Palestinian decisionmaking.

**Excluding Syria**

[AL-NAHAR] What will those who have waged battles to contain the Palestinian national decisionmaking do?

[Arafat] Nobody can conceal the sun with his fingers.

[AL-NAHAR] What do you mean? Have these people become unemployed?

[Arafat] History is the greatest teacher.

[AL-NAHAR] Have they, especially the dissidents and some countries which carry weight with you, contacted you since you proclaimed the independent state?

[Arafat] There is no problem with the Arab states where the Palestinian situation is concerned. It is no coincidence that all the Arab foreign ministers went with me to the United Nations to support the Palestinian position and this resolution. All the Arab foreign ministers, excluding Syria's, were with me.

[AL-NAHAR] Why?

[Arafat] When we met here in the Arab League at the level of foreign ministers to discuss the Lebanon issue, the (meeting also discussed) the problem of the seven-member committee for supporting the Palestinian position and Palestinian intifadah. This committee included Syria, represented in the person of its foreign minister who recognized the committee.

[AL-NAHAR] How do you explain this position?

[Arafat] This is an Arab position. It is Arab consensus.

[AL-NAHAR] Is there mediation with Syria currently? We have heard of contacts with Damascus.

[Arafat] I have no knowledge of such contacts.

[AL-NAHAR] Are there Syrian efforts to open dialogue with you?

[Arafat] I have no knowledge of such efforts.

[AL-NAHAR] What point has the dialogue which you started with Damascus after your latest visit there to attend Abu Jihad's funeral reached?

[Arafat] Regrettably, it fell as soon as it started and as soon as a victory was scored over Shatila's dust.

[AL-NAHAR] Now that the Palestinian card has become independent, the camp war is supposed to end?

[Arafat] I believe that the agreement I have reached with Amal in the south is a fundamental basis for ending any move against these camps in Lebanon.

[AL-NAHAR] Is the agreement final?

[Arafat] I hope so. We have a resolution calling for full adherence to this agreement.

[AL-NAHAR] How can one explain the war between Amal and Hizbullah?

[Arafat] It is the war of foreign powers on Lebanon's soil.

[AL-NAHAR] Who are its heroes?

[Arafat] You know them better than I do, Jubran.

[AL-NAHAR] Foreign powers...

[Arafat] ...which got together to bring about reconciliation.

[AL-NAHAR] Iran and Amal or Iran and Syria?

[Arafat] Iran and Syria and Amal and Hizbullah.

[AL-NAHAR] What is the cause of the problem between Iran and Syria which are fundamentally in agreement? Is it fighting Israel or reassuring Israel?

[Arafat] Time will prove which objective it is.

[AL-NAHAR] Your opinion?

[Arafat] I will keep it to myself for the time being.

#### **Israel Preparing for South**

[AL-NAHAR] Regarding operations launched from South Lebanon, are they currently frozen while you await the outcome of the U.S-Palestinian dialogue?

[Arafat] You must know that Israel is preparing for a military operation and for a war scenario in South Lebanon. I have informed my Arab brothers officially of this. There is a memorandum signed by our ambassador to Tunis and submitted to the Arab League on this issue. I have information on Israeli military preparations.

[AL-NAHAR] Why the scenario?

[Arafat] To shuffle the cards.

[AL-NAHAR] Who will be the beneficiary?

[Arafat] Israel and whoever shares an interest with it will benefit.

[AL-NAHAR] Who, in your opinion?

[Arafat] ... But he will lose, anyway.

[AL-NAHAR] Where and what will Israel invade?

[Arafat] Fundamentally, up to al-Awwali and then up to Bayadir al-'Adas in al-Biq'a'.

[AL-NAHAR] The Syrian Army is present there?

[Arafat] Recently, an 18-hour battle took place between Khaldah and al-Damur.

[AL-NAHAR] Did not the Syrians intervene?

[Arafat] The Syrians, not I, are the ones who announced that they did not intervene. I announced in a military communique that they participated but they proceeded to belie me strongly.

[AL-NAHAR] And so did the Israelis?

[Arafat] And so did the Israelis.

[AL-NAHAR] What is behind shuffling the cards?

[Arafat] To confuse the situation at the Palestinian, Lebanese, and Arab levels.

[AL-NAHAR] And to create a new reality?

[Arafat] Yes.

[AL-NAHAR] What will this reality's bannerline be?

[Arafat] New cards on the Middle East table.

[AL-NAHAR] Between which parties?

[Arafat] Between the Israelis and the Arabs.

[AL-NAHAR] To impose a new course for an Arab-Israeli dialogue?

[Arafat] A new Geneva.

[AL-NAHAR] Similar to the kilometer 101 [dialogue between Israel and Egypt]?

[Arafat] Similar to the kilometer 101.

[AL-NAHAR] How can you stop such a battle?

[Arafat] First, by exposing it. This is why I am talking about it. Second, by informing the international and Arab parties concerned and, what is more important, by intensifying the Arab efforts to solve Lebanon's issue.

#### **Committee Will Succeed**

[AL-NAHAR] Do you have confidence in these efforts about which you are talking, especially the Arab efforts?

[Arafat] Of course. I am one of those who voted for and who were behind the formation of the Arab League Committee for Lebanon. We fought for this committee.

[AL-NAHAR] The committee's activities will succeed?

[Arafat] Yes, undoubtedly.

[AL-NAHAR] So it is a rescue operation by the Arab League?

[Arafat] Why rescue?

[AL-NAHAR] And if the committee fails?

[Arafat] We will call for an Arab summit.

[AL-NAHAR] But in what climate?

[Arafat] The climate is not important. This is what has been agreed.

[AL-NAHAR] How will the climate then be?

[Arafat] Difficult.

[AL-NAHAR] Confrontational?

[Arafat] In the league, no.

The most important thing about this committee is that the Lebanon issue has been restored to Arab hands. We must solve the problem. The problem will have to be solved either by Israel, the Arabs or internationally. We have resolved to solve it at the Arab level so as to preserve the unity of Lebanon's soil, people and institutions.

[AL-NAHAR] But Syria has been participating or trying to participate...

[Arafat] I am talking of the Arabs. The Arabs have decided to intervene and to wrest the reins from all the other parties, Syria and others included, because of the situation that has developed in Lebanon.

[AL-NAHAR] Does this mean that the others have failed?

[Arafat] Undoubtedly.

[AL-NAHAR] So it is your opinion that the committee will succeed?

[Arafat] The final outcome accomplished by the committee will be positive.

'Awn

[AL-NAHAR] You met with General Michel 'Awn, the provisional government head, today. Was this the first meeting between you?

[Arafat] Yes, the first. I had heard of 'Awn as a brilliant Lebanese officer.

[AL-NAHAR] Do you consider him the head of Lebanon's legitimate government?

[Arafat] According to the Lebanese constitution, this is the case. The Arab League deals with him accordingly.

[AL-NAHAR] What is your impression of General 'Awn and of your meeting with him?

[Arafat] I believe that the meeting was positive and we hope that its outcome will be good for solving the Lebanese problem.

[AL-NAHAR] You spoke of the Palestinian rifle?

[Arafat] Since we departed from Beirut, we have been saying that we will be the first to contribute to solving the Lebanese problem. Consequently, our rifle will be at this solution's disposal and will never be an impediment in the face of a solution to the problem or in the face of Lebanon's unity or future. All we will demand from now on is that an agreement dealing with the Palestinian future in Lebanon and with joint cooperation be drafted.

[AL-NAHAR] The rifle will be at the disposal of General 'Awn in his capacity as legitimate government?

[Arafat] At his disposal and at the disposal of any Arab effort to end this abnormal situation in Lebanon and to re-establish the authority of the regime and of the legitimate government.

[AL-NAHAR] In the wake of your meeting with General Michel 'Awn, are you optimistic over Lebanon's future now that you have familiarized yourself with the activities of the Arab six-member committee?

[Arafat] Yes. The Arabs will not permit a recurrence of Palestine's tragedy through the loss of Lebanon. One Palestine is enough for the Arabs.

[AL-NAHAR] So it is no to partition, then?

[Arafat] No to partition, no to fragmentation, and no to striking Lebanon. This is impermissible because it undermines the Arab national security.

[AL-NAHAR] What do you mean?

[Arafat] What undermines Lebanon will not be confined to Lebanon, God forbid. He who plays with fire in one room of the house will burn the entire house.

[AL-NAHAR] Are you optimistic?

[Arafat] Very.

### Beirut or League

[AL-NAHAR] Will a presidential election take place?

[Arafat] Ultimately, the Arabs will decide on a way to hold the election, either in the Greater Beirut, meaning East and West Beirut, under Arab supervision or by inviting the deputies to hold the election under the Arab League's dome.

[AL-NAHAR] Which of the two plans is easier?

[Arafat] The truth is that I cannot embark on the details because the issue is in the committee's hands currently. I am expressing an opinion but the decision is up to the committee, then up to the Arab League Council and, ultimately, up to the Arab summit.

[AL-NAHAR] If Lebanon regains its health, how do you view the future relations between Lebanon and Israel on the one hand and Lebanon and Syria on the other? We are aware that the Lebanese issue is not an internal issue and that Lebanon is the captive of a military security problem with Israel and a political problem with Syria. How do you solve these two problems in order that Lebanon may regain its health? Is it by giving Israel security guarantees that the south will not be used as a point to launch military operations against it?

[Arafat] In 1981-82, the south was not used to launch a single operation. Consequently, Israel was compelled to use the pretext of an assassination attempt in London to launch an operation against Lebanon.

[AL-NAHAR] Does the Cairo declaration include the south?

[Arafat] The Cairo declaration does not include the south. In the south, the Palestinians, like the Lebanese, have been defending themselves against the [Israeli] air raids and attacks.

[AL-NAHAR] My question is: Will the operations launched from South Lebanon against northern Israel be stopped?

[Arafat] As long as we are attacked, we will always defend ourselves.

[AL-NAHAR] In a defensive operation?

[Arafat] Yes. We will continue to defend ourselves. This is our legitimate right, as it is the right of the Lebanese to defend themselves as long as their territories are occupied.

[AL-NAHAR] Walid Junblatt had an initiative to repatriate the evacuees from Mount Lebanon. What about East Sidon?

[Arafat] I made an initiative in East Sidon toward the Christians and I instructed that the Christians be offered all facilities within the framework of the areas where we have a presence or where we can offer assistance.

[AL-NAHAR] Is there a new initiative that you could make to repatriate the East Sidon evacuees?

[Arafat] I have invited them to come and I have offered all possible assistance. I will continue to offer all possible assistance to the evicted brothers, be they Christians or Muslims, in the areas where I exist. You are aware that when fighting broke out between Amal and Hizbullah, thousands poured into Sidon and we held back nothing from them, whether they were evicted or wounded. This is my duty.

[AL-NAHAR] Do you support the old plan which calls for deploying international forces on the Lebanese-Israeli borders and around the camps?

[Arafat] As long as there is an Arab committee dealing with the issue, I would be butting into the issue if I spoke about these matters. But I will ask the new Lebanese Government to protect the camps in accordance with the agreement. I must respect Lebanon's sovereignty, exactly as I respect the sovereignty of the other governments, in whatever pertains to dealing with the Palestinian issue.

### Egypt's Return

[AL-NAHAR] The Saudi-Syrian agreement, said to have been produced by King Fahd's meeting with President al-Asad, was said to have dealt with the Lebanon issue. It was then said that it dealt with the issue of Egypt's return to the Arab League. Do you have information on this agreement?

[Arafat] By God, I have no information.

[AL-NAHAR] Is it possible that Abu 'Ammar does not have information?

[Arafat] On this issue, I have no information.

[AL-NAHAR] On the Egypt issue in particular?

[Arafat] I have no information.

[AL-NAHAR] Some people have said that it is likely that the Syrians have agreed to Egypt's return to the Arab League in return for Arab concessions...

[Arafat] You have more information than I do, Jubran. I have no information.

[AL-NAHAR] Will Egypt's return to the Arab League be easy?

[Arafat] I believe that it will return when the first meeting is held.

[AL-NAHAR] And what will Syria's position be?

[Arafat] Egypt did not depart with consensus and it can return without consensus.

#### **Had Iran Triumphed**

[AL-NAHAR] Has the Iraq-Iran war ended?

[Arafat] Yes.

[AL-NAHAR] With Iran's defeat?

[Arafat] With Iraq's victory. We do not defeat a neighbor. We triumph. This is what my Iraqi brothers say.

[AL-NAHAR] What does this victory constitute?

[Arafat] It constitutes a fundamental strategic point in the Middle East equation.

[AL-NAHAR] What if Iran had triumphed?

[Arafat] The entire Arab equation would have been upturned and we would have entered a new era similar to the Ottoman era.

[AL-NAHAR] Colonialism?

[Arafat] You call it colonialism and others call it something else, perhaps decline.

[AL-NAHAR] You believe that the international equation is currently flowing in the direction of relaxation, beginning with termination of the Iraq-Iran war and with proclamation of the Palestinian state and ending with Cyprus, Lebanon, and Afghanistan. What is the bannerline for the current phase?

[Arafat] International detente.

[AL-NAHAR] In every sense of the word?

[Arafat] Of course. You see the reduction of the conventional forces and strategic weapons, the withdrawals. Economic agreements and relaxation which will follow at the economic, political, and technological levels. The other gate is the gate of solving the world's hot issues, including the Middle East issue which has gained priority.

[AL-NAHAR] Are you satisfied with this international detente?

[Arafat] As long as it gives us a solution to our issue, we are satisfied with this international detente.

[AL-NAHAR] Has the final hour come?

[Arafat] Yes, Jubran, it is within a stone's throw.

[AL-NAHAR] In one of your famous statements, you said that the Arab times are bad. Do you still consider the Arab times to be bad?

[Arafat] Absolutely not. The Arab bad times have been brightened by the Iraqi victory on the eastern gate and by the intifadah in our occupied territories.

#### **'Arafat Adviser Interviewed on Dialogue With U.S., Israel**

44040268 Nicosia *FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH* in Arabic  
5 Feb 89 pp 27-28

[Interview With Nabil Sha'th, Yasir 'Arafat's Political Adviser: "Dr Sha'th: Our Objective Is To Change Political Climate in Israel; Americans Are Making Heavy Demands on Us" by a *FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH* Correspondent in Paris—date not given]

[Text] The U.S. agreement to hold dialogue with the PLO is a recognition of the PLO's legitimacy and of its legitimate demand to the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to the independent Palestinian state. This is the fact, even if the United States tries to deny it. This is what Nabil Sha'th, Yasir 'Arafat's political adviser and member of the PLO Central Council, stressed in an interview with *FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH* while he was attending the Paris conference.

[*FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH*] What point has the Palestinian-U.S. dialogue reached? What do we want and what do the Americans want from us?

[Sha'th] To begin, I will note the importance of the Palestinian-European dialogue. We have held this dialogue freely and it has contributed greatly to the Palestinian-U.S. dialogue. It is also especially important to note the major Soviet role in urging the United States to hold dialogue with the PLO because the U.S. dialogue with the PLO is a U.S. recognition of the PLO. This recognition will subsequently lead to the U.S. recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. Considering that the United States is the primary protector and ally of Israel, this dialogue means the start of a fundamental change in the international position toward the Palestinian issue. This is a step in the direction of the international conference, even though the United States continues so far to deny the possibility of its convocation or its wish to convene it.

It is well known that the dialogue began recently in Tunis and that its start was a prelude. Since then, the channel between the U.S. ambassador to Tunisia and the PLO ambassador to Tunisia has continued to be open and some clarifications have been made on a number of current developments. This political dialogue will be resumed when U.S. President Bush assumes office. Shortly after President Bush's administration establishes itself, this dialogue will certainly escalate, pushing in the direction of the international conference. This dialogue has moved the United States toward the conference in

which all issues will be raised, including the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the establishment of a comprehensive peace that includes the creation of the independent Palestinian state on our liberated territories.

[FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH] This is the Palestinian side's objective. What about the Americans' objective behind this dialogue?

[Sha'th] The Americans are demanding a lot. They are initially focusing on what they call an end to terrorism. We, on our part, respond by agreeing to this. But at the same time, we stress the need for ending the Israeli terrorism and we point out to the Americans the importance of equality with Israel in this regard. They ask us to negotiate with the Israelis and we respond that we support negotiations, but through the international conference. They ask us to verify the truth of what we say and we tell them: You can make sure of the truthfulness of both sides at the international conference. What I mean is that the Americans are reiterating the well-known U.S. positions. We present our viewpoint and they present theirs. However, what is evident is that it is no longer possible to ignore the international conference or the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, including their right to independence and to establishing the independent Palestinian state. Of course, negotiations on the detailed issues will take place in the international conference.

[FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH] The Americans reiterate that they do not support a Palestinian state. Is it possible that they will change this position?

[Sha'th] Certainly, not because the United States has come to believe in justice but because there are two superpowers. One of them, which is the Soviet Union who is our ally, is trying to develop solutions for the regional problems with the United States. There is no doubt that our problem is the main regional problem. As long as the intifadah [uprising] continues to escalate, it will keep the Palestinian issue alive as a factor putting pressure on the international situation. The U.S.-Soviet relations, along with the new international situation created by Gorbachev, will force the United States to agree to a comprehensive solution in the Middle East.

[FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH] On the other hand, there are Israeli attempts to outflank the PLO's political successes and the international conference by offering elections to the occupied territories and by talking of amending the Camp David agreement. What chance of success do these attempts have?

[Sha'th] All these attempts are doomed to failure in advance and all these projections are, if they fail to end the occupation, unacceptable and rejected. The PLO has declared its acceptance of an interim period during which the United Nations supervises the area in order that elections may then be held.

[FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH] France has recently taken the step of upgrading the PLO Office to the level of Palestine's General Legation. What is the PLO's assessment of this step?

[Sha'th] There is no doubt that this is a good step, even though we had expected a more important step. The step we expect will undoubtedly come. Preparations are being made for future meetings with French President Mitterrand. It is true that the French position is developing at a slower pace than it should but there is hope that agreement will be reached on all issues.

[FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH] There is talk about a meeting between 'Arafat and Mitterrand. Does the PLO have definite information and how true is this report?

[Sha'th] The meeting will certainly take place in time. There are consultations and contacts between the PLO and France on this issue.

[FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH] What about the provisional Palestinian government?

[Sha'th] This government could be formed in 2 months.

[FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH] What about the intifadah?

[Sha'th] The intifadah is at its apex. Whoever believes that the intifadah is children throwing stones is wrong. It is a reflection of a people's revolution for independence and for ending occupation completely. It is a fundamental change in the direction of our people's life in the occupied Palestine.

[FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH] What does the PLO aspire to achieve through its dialogue with the Israeli peace camp?

[Sha'th] We aspire to intensify and strengthen the peace front in Israel so that it may play a greater role in changing the political climate in Israel and in [urging] acceptance of the international conference and of creation of the independent Palestinian state. In this meeting, we hold dialogue with important figures, including some party chairmen. They are all from the peace camp and they all recognize the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to establishing the Palestinian state. They also recognize the PLO as the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative. It is very important that these people's opinion be heard and that they be given a greater opportunity to express themselves because this is tantamount to preparation for a fundamental change in the Israeli position.

[FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH] What is your assessment of this [Paris] meeting?

[Sha'th] The truth is that we are not meeting with the Israelis at this conference. It is well known that this conference is a European conference attended by both of

us. There is no direct dialogue between us. Through this, we seek to make the Europeans aware of the presence of a peace camp in Israel and of the need to support this camp which has been greatly influenced by the Palestinian peace line. We seek to influence Europe primarily, even though we aspire at the same time to broaden the peace circle in Israel through the Israeli peace camp.

[FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH] What is your assessment of the projections made by the Israeli side at this conference? Have they all been positive?

[Sha'th] They have not all been positive. Some of them continue to cling to the old ideas. But generally, their position is an advanced position and we must encourage them, especially since there is agreement on the fundamental issues, namely recognition of the PLO and of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to a Palestinian state. This is an advanced position. We do not treat them as enemies but rather as friends, even though we reject many of their theories.

[FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH] Does France aspire to play a serious role in preparing for the international conference?

[Sha'th] France does want to play a role. It is evident that the Israelis do not want it to play this role. This is obvious from the Israelis' statements. As for us, we want this role and we encourage France to play it. The Israelis want to rely on the United States solely. Even the Israeli peace camp holds this position. The PLO insists that the Soviet Union and Europe play their role in the peace process and in the international conference because we do not want a Camp David. We want to go to the international conference armed first with our Intifadah and then with our allies and friends in the world so that we may be able to negotiate and to impose our rights, led by the right to self-determination, independence, and an independent state.

### **Friction Within PLO Reported**

44000346 Jerusalem JERUSALEM POST in English  
7 Feb 89 p 3

[Text] An angered PLO leadership, in its first signs of friction since the Algiers conference in November, is likely to condemn recent critical statements by one of its members, Nayif Hawatimah, leader of the Marxist DFLP faction, the Paris-based Arabic weekly AL-YAWM AL-SABI' has reported.

Hawatimah in his statements was critical of "rightist" PLO circles, indirectly including Yasir 'Arafat, whom he claimed were willing to jettison "national unity" to win U.S. support.

According to the weekly, PLO officials are angry because Hawatimah appears to be trying to foment division within the Palestinian leadership and could upset the intifada in the territories.

On January 15, the DFLP wrote in the Lebanese paper AL-HURRIYAH that "there is a large class of big merchants and Palestinian financial backers who are linked to external interests, and this class is worried about the spread of the popular intifada."

The statement went on to say that Palestinian circles close to American policy makers are seeking to set up a "government of personalities," (such as well-known Palestinian professors) rather than a "government of national unity." It also said that right-wing PLO circles support a "government of personalities."

The DFLP attacked 'Arafat indirectly, calling for the prevention of "dominant control" by a segment of the PLO (meaning 'Arafat's Fatah) over PLO institutions and financial resources, and it called for standing firm against the "retreatist conception" of rightist circles in the PLO.

By chance, the authoritative AL-YAWM AL-SABI' said, the PLO leadership met in Tunis the day after the Democratic Front's statement appeared. Hawatimah attended the meetings, but did not express the opinions published in AL-HURRIYAH.

But the following day, January 17, Hawatimah issued a political statement in his own name in the Kuwaiti paper AL-ANBA', saying: "The time has come for the formation of a provisional Palestinian government. The Palestinian leadership has not reached a consensus about the establishment of this government. The meetings revealed four different approaches to the matter."

He added that there is Arab, European and American pressure "to postpone the declaration of a provisional government or to establish one in a way that will put off the foundations of national unity and 'drown it' in a huge number of bureaucratic types at the expense of the basic forces of the revolution.

According to AL-YAWM AL-SABI', all the other members of the Palestinian leadership who participated in the meetings denied that differences of opinion were expressed. They claimed that the question of who was to sit in the provisional government hadn't even been discussed. The PLO leaders will insist that Hawatimah stop issuing statements.

### **'Palestinian Popular Army' in West Bank Described**

44040291 Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 13 Feb 89 p 15

[Article: "'Palestinian Popular Army' Is One Feature of Coming State"]

[Text] Jerusalem, Nicosia—The "Palestinian Popular Army's" name has been recently reiterated in more than one part of the [West] Bank and the [Gaza] Strip and numerous statements supporting this army's formation have been issued. Moreover, In its appeal No 32, the

UNC [Unified National Command], congratulated the Palestinian masses on the popular army's birth and stressed that it is the PLO's army and the blessed Intifadah's [uprising] army which is being formed on the basis of strike forces, which includes all factions and which follows the UNC's instructions and command.

Recently, Israeli press reports and interviews have touched on the issue of the popular army's formation. On 25 January 1989, YEDI'OT AHORNOT published a report which says the following:

Nearly 2 months ago, several dozen youths staged a military parade in the streets of Nablus' old town, carrying knives, axes, and stones in their hands. The citizens cheered the youths and sprinkled rice on them for a blessing. Following the parade, a Palestinian journalist present at the scene made this comment: "This is the Palestinian army's nucleus." More than a month ago, the 'security forces' discovered in Hebron a sewing shop where they found out that the women workers were sewing 'khaki uniforms' similar to the Israeli Army uniforms. Upon investigation, it was found that the young women were sewing uniforms for the popular army troops in Hebron area.

The phenomenon of parades staged by the popular army recruits has spread in recent weeks to various parts of the occupied territories. Initially, the parades were intended to attract media attention. But the youths' psychological confidence grew gradually and, in most cases, they began to parade with uncovered faces. To make the world aware of the popular army and to prove that this army's nucleus already exists, the organizers invited television crews from the United States and France to several of this army's parades.

The parades by this army's members are staged in a number of villages. This army's troops line up before a pole flying the Palestinian flag, salute the flag and sing the Palestinian national anthem—"My country, o my country."

The PLO leaders have been encouraged by the reports from Bank villages on this paramilitary army and they have decided to add another content to the future Palestinian state by declaring formation of the Palestinian Popular Army in the occupied territories.

At this point, the intifadah leaders rushed to bless this army's formation and urged the youth to join its ranks and to take part in its activities. The PLO has also been eager to send funds to the occupied territories to finance this army's expenditures. The task of organizing this army has been entrusted to a number of Fatah's active central figures in the occupied territories.

The PLO spokesmen's announcements on the formation of this army has not surprised the "security circles." At least they have not surprised the top leadership which deals with the occupied territories' affairs. Observation

of the intifadah's development, especially since the independence proclamation was made, led to the conclusion that an announcement on the formation of this army was also possible. A prominent officer has said: "The popular army phenomenon is expected to continue to develop. It is also likely that the cells engaged in stone and Molotov cocktail throwing and the cells carrying out other (cool) activities operate within this framework. It is not unlikely that an official status will be given to this framework and that this army will give theoretical instruction on the use of weapons."

The Israeli Army views with concern the formation of this popular army's frameworks and their attainment of an official status. Last year's experience proves that this phenomenon will expand and strike roots the moment it gains momentum and gets encouraged by the PLO leaders.

'Abd-al-Fattah Hasan, a 44-year old inhabitant of Tulkarm, was arrested recently. According to his indictment, he was one of the Palestinian Popular Army commanders, he acted on Fatah's instructions and he enlisted several dozen young recruits, some of whom were later involved in attempts to resist the Israeli Army troops.

'Abd-al-Fattah has also been charged with receiving insignia from Fatah to be used by the recruits who were supposed to attach the insignia to their clothing while carrying out operations. The uncovering of this organization has sent a danger signal among the "security forces." Logic says that as long as a major cell of the popular army has been seized in Tulkarm, then it is likely that this activity has spread to other places and has begun to enter the practical phase.

The Israeli Army officials have learned from their experience in dealing with similar organizations which have come into existence with the intifadah. It is evident that laws and orders are not enough to eliminate this phenomenon and that whatever makes an organization like the popular army an outlawed body is sure to expand this army's ranks, as has happened with the popular committees.

The YEDI'OT AHORNOT reporter concludes: The Israeli Army officials are well aware that it is impossible to eliminate this phenomenon with the stroke of a pen. They say: If we imprison 50 or a 100 members of the popular army, 300 others will replace them. The Israeli Army officials are also aware of the fact that it is impossible to deploy Israeli troops in every village of the bank which contains nearly 450 villages, in every quarter or in every refugee camp to stop these military parades. But at the present time, the intelligence agency will be bolstered.

On 25 January 1989, (HADASHOT) interviewed Mark Helo, a researcher at the Tel Aviv University's Strategic Research Center, on the Palestinian Popular Army.

Answering a question on how much he knows about this army's formation, Helo said: The "popular army" phrase appeared for the first time at the PNC meetings in November 1988. The PNC condemned terrorism but stressed on the other hand the right of the Palestinians in the occupied territories to join the intifadah. Two self-defense means were mentioned: The strike committees and the popular army.

Answering another question by the paper on where this army can be seen, Helo said: This army's pictures have appeared in short television films and in investigative reports published by the Arab press. The organizations themselves have taken photographs of this army and have secretly invited foreign reporters to where the Israeli Army has no presence.

As for his interpretation of how serious this phenomenon is, he said: To date, I am aware of no incident connected with this army. My conclusion is that there is an endeavor to create the symbols of the future state and that this army is one of this state's features. We are aware that insignia of this army are being distributed in the occupied territories with the aim of making the Palestinian public aware of the formation of this body which constitutes a symbol at home and abroad.

#### **Economic Problems Faced by West Bank, Gaza Students**

44040277 Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA' in Arabic  
7 Feb 89 pp 38-39

[Article by 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-'Umari: "Who Takes Palestinian Student Aid Money"]

[Text] The blessed intifadah [uprising] in Palestine is entering its 14th month. The Palestinian people continue to amass their victories and their sacrifices firmly and resolutely. The workers continue to refuse to work in the enemy factories. The comprehensive strikes go on. The people have adapted their living pattern to make it compatible with the intifadah's continuation. They have dispensed with luxuries and with numerous essentials so that the intifadah may continue. They have shared the loaf of bread and they no longer have a source of revenue or income.

Thus, the assistance which kinsmen used to provide to their children who are completing their college studies abroad has stopped. Tens of thousands of Palestinian college youths are now threatened with the suspension of their studies unless a financial source is secured to pay for their college fees and their living costs.

These youths no longer wait for or expect to receive assistance from their kinsmen who live under the occupation's yoke. Thus, the financial problem has become one of the main problems surfacing in the wake of the blessed intifadah's eruption in the occupied Palestine.

#### **Aid Money...?**

The financial aid supporting the intifadah's continuation began to pour into the Palestinian official circles from every direction. States, organizations, and committees have been competing to contribute money to the intifadah aid funds. The emergency Arab summit held in Algiers to support the intifadah allocated financial aid amounting to millions of dollars. The summit also allocated a monthly aid exceeding \$100 million. The PLO pledged to support the kinsmen at home. It also pledged to pay the academic fees of Palestinian students who have stopped receiving assistance from their families and kinsmen. The students felt optimistic.

#### **Serious PHEenomenon!**

But AL-MUJTAMA' has noticed a serious phenomenon and a major problem that threatens to force hundreds of Palestinian students to abandon their studies and to look for work with which to support themselves and meet their needs. The signs have come from correspondents and reports in more than west and east European and Asian capital. The problem has intensified. The victims' complaints are rising. This is why the problem has had to be presented so that that a prompt solution may be found for it, that the aid and contributors' monies may be preserved and may go only where they should go, that the education procession of the Palestinian people's children may continue and that they may not be forced to abandon their university seats to seek a living.

The information indicates the following:

In the wake of the blessed intifadah's eruption and of the delivery of aid money to the PLO, the PLO decided to aid the students who stopped receiving assistance from their families. The reports confirmed that "higher orders from the PLO leadership" stressed the need for distributing this aid to all Palestinian students without discrimination between one student and another due to tendency or ideology. The "higher orders" exclude the following groups from aid:

- A student coming for higher studies.
- A student coming to enroll after the start of the intifadah.
- A student who has repeated his class for more than 2 years.
- A student engulfed in any security suspicion.

So far so good. But most of the students who had stopped receiving assistance [from kinsmen] have received no more than two aid payments in the past 13 months, each payment enough to cover the student's expenses for one month. We will not dwell much on this problem because it is obvious and it does not need many words.

The more significant and serious problem that motivated us to tackle this issue is a different problem.

### For Factions' Elements Only

The information we have gathered indicates that the task of dispensing aid and monies to the students who had stopped receiving [family] assistance has been entrusted to the General Federation of Palestinian Students, and herein lies the problem. Those in charge of the federation in more than one country have added extra conditions to those set by the PLO leadership. They have even violated the PLO's explicit instructions on not discriminating between one student and another because of tendency and ideology. The people in charge of disbursing these monies have made the student's tendency a fundamental criterion in determining "who gets the aid." They have decided that the cadres of the PLO's member factions and organizations are the ones to whom the conditions apply and who deserve these monies. As for the other Palestinians, they do not meet the required conditions!

The criterion of the Palestinian student's patriotism and, consequently, of his qualification for the aid money is his affiliation with and membership in the "students federation." Not a single penny can be disbursed unless the student registers as a member of the federation so that he may acquire a certificate of patriotism!

Many Palestinian students do not register themselves in the federation because of various considerations. Some refuse to register because of aversion to the faulty practices of those in charge of the federation. Others refuse to register because they do not belong to any of the factions represented by the federation or because of ideological and intellectual disagreement with those in charge of the federation. Consequently, these students are denied aid automatically because the federation chairman refuses to agree to disburse aid to them.

### Money to Subjugate Rivals

Some complaints received by AL-MUJTAMA' stress that the matter will not end at the point of registration and membership and that this is the first step in putting pressure on opponents or ideological adversaries, considering that membership will result in the demand for active participation in the federation's activities and for not disagreeing with or opposing those in charge of the federation, regardless of their practices and positions. According to the people who sent these complaints, the aid money has thus become an instrument in the hand of some people to influence and subjugate the opponents, to buy votes and to gain supporters.

### Where Is Security?

Some students in a certain country have voiced another reservation on having their names registered in the federation's records. This reservation states:

"A group of Palestinian students were organized in a cell within a Palestinian movement. When some of these students went to visit their families in the occupied

Palestine during a school holiday, they were arrested by the occupation authorities who surprised them by showing them the membership papers they had written in their own hand. This raises doubts and question marks regarding the strength of security in these circles and regarding the possibility of their having been infiltrated. This makes the students more careful and cautious about registering their names in the official records..."

### Please Get Out

In another place, a Palestinian student applied for the disbursement of the aid he is entitled to. In response, those who are in charge of the federation and who control the disbursement of these monies required that this student sign a letter stressing that he is not a member of the Islamic movement.

In another country, the officials responded to the aid request of a group of students who sympathize with the Islamic current by telling them: "We don't give to agents." In a third country, a federation official met with students from a different tendency who had come to the office to inquire about the reason why their names and the names of their colleagues had not been included in the aid lists—he met them rudely, angrily and with displeasure and refused to let one of them speak on behalf of or to represent his colleagues, telling them that there is no alternative to Fatah's representation. He then shouted at them: "Please get out."

### They Hear About It But They Don't See It

Some reports indicate that some students have actually abandoned their studies and returned to the occupied Palestine because they had stopped receiving assistance and could not get the aid about which they had heard but which they did not see. The reports also confirm that some students are faced with the threat of being dismissed from their colleges or of being denied participation in the examinations because they have been delinquent in paying their fees and because the federation officials refuse to pay these fees due to ideological differences between them and these students.

### \$100,000 Only

Moreover, students in a certain capital bittely circulate, according to another letter, reports about the crooked actions of one of those who have been entrusted with the monies to be disbursed to the deserving students. The reports say that this official disbursed \$200 to every deserving student but then asked the recipient to sign 3 receipts instead of one. The recipients, thinking that this was a routine procedure and that they were signing an original and 2 copies, did so. But the truth is that the signed papers showed each student receiving \$600 rather than the \$200 actually received. As for the difference, only God knows where it has gone. What is important is that this official, who is also a student, has accumulated more than \$100,000.

This has forced the students concerned to complain to the doyen of the Arab diplomatic corps in the country where they study to intervene and observe how the monies are distributed and to make sure that they are distributed fairly and that certain groups are not denied the money. The students have also demanded that the Arab League itself supervise the distribution of the monies so that they may not continue to be controlled by certain tendencies and factions who distribute the money to whomever they like and withhold it from whoever disagrees with them.

Finally, these faulty practices by those who have been assigned the trust of distributing the monies require that the PLO take a stance and bring to account those who wish to discriminate among the sons of the steadfast people, who tamper with the people's money and who use it to achieve narrow gains at a critical phase which requires all to unite.

We hope that the Palestinian leadership will put an immediate end to all these practices and will make sure that the "monies" are delivered to our children, the students who deserve the money.

A prompt solution is required because hundreds of Palestinian students are suffering from this problem and because these students face the threat of either being dismissed from their colleges or being denied participation in the examinations.

#### **Reasons for Decline of Dinar on West Bank Examined**

44040264 Jerusalem AL-SHA'B in Arabic 10 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by Muhammad 'Amirah: "Will Jordanian Dinar Regain Its Strength in Local Markets"]

[Text] Nablus—The decree issued by Jordan's general military governor 2 days ago ordering the cancellation of all licenses granted to "money changers," the sealing of their shops with red wax, the freezing of their funds in banks and financial institutions, and the impoundment of their records has raised numerous questions among the occupied territories' citizens as to the impact of the decree on the Jordanian dinar's exchange rate. Will the outcome be positive and raise, or at least stabilize, the Jordanian dinar's price or will it be negative and cause the dinar's exchange rate to decline?

Here are the opinions and analyses of the West Bank universities' specialists on this issue:

Dr Hisham Jabr, lecturer at al-Najah National University in Nablus:

Both the East Bank and the West Bank have recently experienced chaos and hysteria in the Jordanian dinar's exchange rate and this situation has made the dinar the issue preoccupying all people, especially West Bank people, who deal with more than one currency. The

extreme speculation and the rush in the East Bank to exchange dinars for foreign currencies and the rush in the West Bank to purchase dollars and Israeli sheqels have greatly influenced the dinar's exchange rate, reducing it to 2.6 sheqels per dinar whereas it had exceeded 5 sheqels per dinar last year.

Numerous factors have been involved in the drop of the dinar's exchange rate versus the sheqel in the West Bank, even though the sheqel's exchange rate has been reduced. These factors include:

1. The Israeli authorities' siphoning off of large quantities of sheqels from the West Bank markets through the collection of exorbitant taxes, tax registration fees and fees collected for the required replacement of vehicle license plates.

2. Numerous citizens have exchanged their dinars for sheqels as a result of the lack of confidence in the dinar which has prevailed recently because of the dinar's declining exchange rate. Therefore, the dinar supply has exceeded the sheqels available and, consequently, the sheqel's exchange rate has risen at the dinar's expense.

3. Numerous merchants have refused to accept dinars in payment for goods sold to the public and this has further shaken confidence in the dinar.

4. The people are in dire need of the sheqel to meet their commitments and to buy what they need. There is also a shortage of sheqel supply as a result of the decreasing income from Arab workers employed in Israel paid in sheqels.

5. The rumors that have been circulated recently against national institutions, such as the Cairo-Amman Bank, which say that the bank has converted all its assets to sheqels.

All these factors, as well as the recently circulated rumors that the dinar is no longer good as a "saving" currency and as a value repository, have caused the dinar's exchange rate to deteriorate. This has had a negative impact on the West Bank citizens who collect their wages in dinars, and they are a majority.

Nobody in the West Bank can solve this serious problem which has caused the living standard of many people to decline and which has made these people fear the future, considering that they do not control the rudder of the West Bank's currency policy, especially where the dinar is concerned.

We have been awaiting a solution from the people who control the rudder of the currency policy—the Central Bank of Jordan.

Dr Jabr added that the Central Bank of Jordan has been watching the situation in Jordan and in the West Bank closely and has been ceaselessly trying to curb this

fabricated decline in the dinar's exchange rate by using the weapons of currency control at its disposal, beginning with control through channeling. The Central Bank has been setting the exchange rate and asking the financial institutions to adhere to it. All have adhered, except for the money changers who have been purchasing dollars and other currencies at prices exceeding those set by the Central Bank and have been selling these currencies at high prices paid by clients who have been influenced by the rumors which have shaken confidence in the dinar. In an attempt to dispose of their dinars, people in both Jordan and the West Bank have been seeking foreign currencies from the money changers because they cannot get these currencies from the banks and the financial institutions. Jordan's banks and financial institutions sell foreign currencies to the public only in case people directly need these currencies to cover the cost of visible and invisible imports, such as the cost of payment policies and documentary credit policies, and to remit money to students enrolled abroad. In these cases, the public can purchase foreign currencies at the official exchange rate set by the Central Bank.

But the public cannot get foreign currencies from the banks and the financial institutions for speculation. This is why the public in Jordan and in the West Bank has resorted to the money changers to get foreign currencies for speculation, thus increasing the demand for foreign currencies and raising their prices versus the dinar. The Central Bank has had to intervene to put an end to these abuses which harm the national economy, squander the state's foreign currency resources, and shake confidence in the local currency, i.e. the dinar. Hence the sound measure adopted by the Jordanian Government on 8 February 1989—a measure which provides for canceling the money changers' licenses, closing their offices and shops, freezing their assets in Jordan's banks and financial institutions so as to protect the public's monies and seizing their records so that the government and the Central Bank may audit these records and may take stock of the money changers' assets.

Dr Jabr believes that this measure is sound and necessary at the present time to protect the public's monies from being manipulated by speculation. First and foremost, the measure protects the public from the fraud that may be perpetrated against it.

As for the consequences which will emanate from this measure, they can be summed up in the following:

1. The measure will reduce the speculation activities and will stop people from being swayed by the rumors that have shaken confidence in the dinar and have made them exchange dinars for foreign currencies.
2. A black market may arise in Jordan for the sale and purchase of foreign currencies. But this market's impact will be limited and whoever deals in this market will

have to think a thousand times before doing so by virtue of the stiff penalties which Jordan's minister of interior has pointed out and which will destroy this market in the cradle.

3. This measure will certainly motivate the public in both Jordan and the West Bank to offer the foreign currencies it has purchased for sale at the official price, thus shouldering the loss resulting from its being swayed by tricks. This will raise the dinar's exchange price and will help the Central Bank to perform its tasks of managing the currency policy and stabilizing the dinar's exchange rate.

4. The measure will motivate many people who have disposed of their dinars to reconsider their decisions and to resume using the dinar.

The major part of the foreign currencies will revert to the banks and the financial institutions, the state's foreign currency assets will grow, the prices of imports will grow easily by virtue of the availability of foreign currencies and, consequently, the deficit in Jordan's trade balance will be reduced and the state's foreign currency reserve will improve, thus leading to improvement of the dinar's exchange rate.

5. In the West Bank, the measure will, sooner or later, make those who have hoarded sheqels dispose of them as a result of improvement in the dinar's exchange rate. These people will bite their fingers in regret for exchanging their dinars for sheqels, especially when we know that the Israeli authorities will reduce the sheqel's exchange rate officially in the near future. The Israeli Government will announce another reduction in the sheqel's exchange rate at any moment. Those hoarding large amounts of sheqels in their safes will then regret their act when it is too late to regret.

Dr 'Atif 'Alawinah, lecturer at al-Najah National University in Nablus:

I believe that the Jordanian measures' impact on the exchange rate in the occupied territories depends on the developments in Jordan's financial market.

If a black money-changing market arises in Jordan, the development will lead to raising the dollar's price in Amman beyond its price in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

This will further motivate the exodus of dollars from the occupied territories to the East Bank to take advantage of the difference in the exchange rate. This could consequently lead to increasing the dollar's exchange rate versus the dinar in the West Bank also.

But I also believe that if a black money-changing market does not develop in Jordan and that if Jordan stems the flow of dollars into the country, then this will make the negative impact much smaller than in the first case.

However, the measure will, in both cases, intensify the fears of those saving Jordanian dinars out of the belief that the Jordanian Government has been forced to take this measure to stem any further decline in the dinar's exchange price. This belief will motivate the savers to seek to more eagerly exchange their dinars and dollars for other currencies. This means that the measure will lead to a further drop in the dinar's exchange rate in the short run.

## ALGERIA

### Revised Constitution Ratified by Majority Vote

**Constitutional Draft Published, Analyzed**  
45190046 Algiers *REVOLUTION AFRICAINE*  
in French 17 Feb 89 pp 27-29

[Article by Mohamed El-Gharbi: "The Constitutional Revision Project"]

[Text] On 10 February 1989, the president of the Republic made public the draft of the amended Constitution, which is the second portion of the program of political reform announced to the nation.

The changes proposed pertain to all of the chapters of the Constitution.

In particular, they are designed:

- To provide complete and unalterable guarantees for the exercise of individual and collective freedoms in all forms and in all realms in which the people exercise political power.
- To ensure firm establishment of the organization and separation of the executive, legislative and judicial branches.
- To specify the political, economic and social fields for the activities of state institutions and bodies.

This draft of the revised Constitution will be subject to a popular referendum scheduled for Thursday, 23 February 1989.

The draft of the "new" Constitution is being made known to the people of Algeria this week, and they are being called upon to express their views on what should be done with it. Approval of this text will mean that the new qualitative content given the Algerian Republic is accepted, and that a new "social pact" has been agreed upon, based on new methods of exercising power, indeed "new rules of the game," for those who govern and those who are governed.

The revised constitutional text is ambiguous (double meaning), and is susceptible to at least two readings. The first has to do with a Constitution which is not so much announced as understood, and which is seen to be based on "condemnation" of the principle of party unicity because of its inability to provide all of the "happiness" promised.

In this connection, the new constitutional revision is designed to establish a state within the framework of a republic which is both liberal and democratic.

It is liberal because it "liberates" the individual from the state, which had isolated and deprived him of his basic freedoms in exchange for providing a certain number of economic and social rights, in response to the demands of the masses who had been crushed by injustices of all kinds during the colonial period. This presumed the launching of a bold process of recovery of the nation's wealth and establishment of a national production system which would work toward autonomy and would mean vigorously limiting privileges.

The National Liberation Front (FLN) and the state produced through its exercise of power have in large part kept their promise, although their dream of building an egalitarian democracy has in some respects touched on utopia, and sometimes even delusion. Also, and without denying the essential aspects, because "the right to education" (Article 50) and "the right to health protection" (Article 51) are guaranteed to the citizens, the FLN, through its president, who has the right, in that capacity, to initiate constitutional amendment, has now decided to "re-establish" the public freedoms of the Algerian citizen. To achieve this, in short, it has used another kind of logic for the functioning of the national political system. That system will be based henceforth on the establishment of a liberal state, insofar as the constitutional revision specifies that, the "liberation" of "civil society," and elimination of the citizen's dependence on the state apparatus.

Two chapters, including nearly 40 articles, are devoted to the rights, liberties, and duties of the citizens of Algeria. Thus the Constitution guarantees the citizen of our country all of the freedoms which derive from the autonomy of the individual, which is implicitly affirmed in the new basic law and is expressed in four principle ways. The physical autonomy of the individual is the first. Recognition of this form of autonomy leads to the guarantee of safety and its extensions—the freedom to move about freely and to enter and leave the national territory, the inviolability of the domicile and postal communications, etc.

The second form is autonomy of thought. Its affirmation allows the citizen to enjoy freedom of opinion, of conscience, and of religion without entailing any threat to the Islamic nature of the Algerian State, as well as freedom of expression in the spoken and written word and pictorial images, etc.

Economic autonomy is reduced here to individual ownership alone. This may have to be strengthened by a certain freedom of trade and industry. However, this latter principle is not set forth in the new Constitution. Similarly, recognition of the right to private ownership does not eliminate the existence of public property, for

which the field of action will be established by law in the future. Nor does the Constitution establish any hierarchy for private and public ownership.

Autonomy with regard to collective methods of action is the last form endorsed by the new revised Constitution. This is, to speak the truth, the real realm of innovation in the constitutional revision. The novel aspects introduced in this connection clearly indicate that the constitutional revision was not designed solely to establish a liberal state, but above all to make that state democratic. Three new facts bear witness to this new characteristic of Algerian democracy. The first has to do with the right to strike, which is guaranteed to the workers in all its full effects (Article 54). In the future, this right can be exercised equally by employees in private business and employees of public enterprises. The second fact has to do with trade-union law. The procedure endorsed by the revised Constitution is entirely different from that for which the 1976 constitution provided. Within the new formula, the trade-union law has three applications. First of all it provides for the freedom to establish unions, which should allow trade-union pluralism in the future. Next, it entails freedom of membership, and finally, freedom of activity. The third fact which in reality allows effective democratization of the liberal government is the recognition of the freedom to establish "associations of a political nature," set forth in Paragraph 1 of Article 40.

The "new" Constitution thus endorses, and it does so expressly, the principle of multiple political parties. It is here, in fact and in law, that the necessary counterpart to the "externality" of the state and its "neutrality" in relation to "social and ideological struggles" in society is found. Its assertion also means that the various social interests will henceforth be allowed to organize their own groups, to organize their ideologies, and to set forth their demands in political terms. Political pluralism will also become a factor giving rise, within the national institutional and political framework, to the concepts of majority and opposition, and thus the establishment of parliamentarianism.

A law is to be promulgated to organize and establish the conditions for the creation of political groups. But as of the present and for the future, the constitutional revision provides some "railings" to protect "national unity, territorial integrity, the independence of the country, and the sovereignty of the people" (Article 40, Paragraph 2), and to prevent national sovereignty from being taken over to the benefit of the "parliament," and through it, the political parties. Two methods are provided to achieve this, and their use is left to the discretion of the president of the Republic. The first is the dissolution of the body representing the nation, or early legislative elections. Recourse to a popular consultation strengthens popular representation, in principle. The second method is the referendum, which remains a process very much present in the new constitutional text. It can be put to use both in connection with "issues of national importance

(Article 74, Point 9) and when questions arise pertaining to the constitutional revision procedures" (Title IV). The principle established calls for approval of any future constitutional revision by referendum (Article 163). This is one of the consequences of the fact that the "constituent power belongs to the people" (Article 7, Paragraph 1), in whom "the national sovereignty" is also invested. A chapter is reserved for the people in the new Constitution, to set forth the role they should play in the future on the political scene, and within the framework of the exercise of power. This is the only method of transmitting power, and its multiple uses on the political level reflect the desire of the constituent body to go beyond the limited concept which reduces democracy to elections alone.

Recourse to the people is a prerogative which is left to the sole discretion of the president of the Republic by virtue of the status accorded him in the constitutional text. First of all, certain provisions specify that he is called upon to play the role of arbiter, which thus gives him the authority to consult the people, because he is responsible for guaranteeing the regular functioning of the public apparatus. It is he who must ensure the independence of the court authorities inasmuch as he heads the Higher Council of the Magistracy which has the authority to appoint and transfer judges, and, generally, to govern their careers (Article 146). Thus the principle of lifetime appointment for judges, and as a result, their independence, is included here, although unspoken.

The chief of state also guarantees justice, because he participates in the appointment of two members and the president of the Constitutional Council, the body which has the task of guaranteeing the legal functioning of the state.

It is also clear from other provisions, Articles 86 through 90 in particular, that the chief of state represents the highest level of appeal for protection, both for the Constitution and for state continuity.

All of this indicates that the Constitution places the chief of state above the parties, for he does not serve as arbiter either among the political parties or among the public authorities. To speak the truth, he is the arbiter solely of the national interests. Therefore, with the president of the Republic assigned this status, the Algerian political system has not been transformed into a presidential system. It is, on the contrary, essentially a parliamentary system (with the creation of political parties), characterized by the existence of a dual executive branch with a chief of state who is not responsible (to the body representing the nation) and a government which is responsible to the National People's Assembly (APN). The control exercised by this Assembly is strengthened by the establishment of the motion of censure. Expressing the will of the nation which elects it, the National People's Assembly thus enjoys broad authority to control the government. It has the power to adopt or reject its

program, but this capacity should not, in light of the new philosophy of the Constitution, be used as a pretext for the conversion of the APN into a part of an assembly system. Its authority to control should be incorporated in an overall framework of collaboration among the branches, which in turn should be contained within the framework of a body of rules pertaining to its organization, authority, and methods of work. This is the interpretation of the visible aspect of the Constitution.

### **Text of Revised Constitution**

45190046 Algiers *REVOLUTION AFRICAINE*  
in French 17 Feb 89 pp 30-42

[Text]

### **Preamble**

The Algerian people are a free people determined to remain free.

Their history includes a long series of struggles which have always made of Algeria a land of freedom and dignity.

Algeria, situated at a focal point during the great experiences through which the Mediterranean region has passed in the course of its history, beginning with the Numidian Kingdom and the epic of Islam and extending through the colonial wars, has been able to find among its sons heroes of freedom, unity, and progress, who were at the same time builders of democratic and prosperous states in the periods of grandeur and peace.

On 1 November 1984, one of the high points in the nation's destiny occurred, with the culmination of its long resistance to aggression against its culture, values, and individuality. The events of 1 November provided a firm anchor for the struggles in the glorious past of the nation.

The people, who rallied within the national movement and then within the National Liberation Front, shed their blood to ensure their collective destiny within the freedom and the cultural identity they had won for themselves, and to provide themselves with truly popular institutions.

Crowning the people's war of independence, which was won at the cost of the sacrifice of the best of its children, the National Liberation Front has finally re-established, in all its fullness, a modern and sovereign state.

Their faith in their collective choices has allowed the people to win decisive victories, reflected in the recovery of national assets and the building of a state which serves them exclusively and exercises its authority in full independence and with safeguards against any foreign pressure.

Having always fought for freedom and democracy, the people intend with this Constitution to provide themselves with institutions based on citizens' participation in the administration of public affairs, with guarantees of social justice, equality, and freedom for each and all.

In approving this Constitution, the product of their own genius, the reflection of their aspirations, and the fruit of their determination and profound social changes, the people thus intend to consecrate the primacy of the law more solemnly than ever.

The Constitution stands above all. It is the basic law which guarantees individual and collective rights and freedoms, protects the rule of free choice for the people, and confers legitimacy on the exercise of authority. It makes it possible to guarantee legal protection and control of the actions of the public authorities in a society in which legality and the blossoming of man in all his dimensions prevail.

Strong in their profoundly rooted spiritual values and their traditions of solidarity and justice, the people have confidence in their capacity to work fully for the cultural, social, and economic advance of the world of today and tomorrow.

Algeria, the land of Islam, an integral part of the Greater Maghreb, an Arab, Mediterranean, and African country, is proud of the spreading influence of its 1 November revolution and of the respect the country has been able to win and retain because of its commitment to all of the just causes in the world.

The pride of the people, their sacrifice, their sense of responsibility, and their ancestral devotion to freedom and social justice are the best guarantees of respect for the principles of this Constitution, which the people are adopting and passing on to future generations, the worthy heirs of the pioneers and the builders of a free society.

## **Title I—General Principles Governing Algerian Society**

### **Chapter 1—Algeria**

Article 1. Algeria is a democratic and popular Republic. It is one and indivisible.

Article 2. Islam is the religion of the state.

Article 3. Arabic is the national and official language.

Article 4. The capital of the Republic is Algiers.

Article 5. The national emblem, the seal of the state, and the national anthem are established by law.

## Chapter 2—The People

Article 6. The people are the source of all power. National sovereignty belongs to the people.

Article 7. The constituent authority belongs to the people.

The people exercise their sovereignty through the institutions they establish.

The people exercise their authority through the referendum and through their elected representatives.

The president of the Republic can have direct recourse to the expression of the will of the people.

Article 8. The people establish for themselves institutions for the purpose of:

- Safeguarding and consolidating national independence.
- Safeguarding and consolidating the national identity and unity.
- Protecting the basic freedoms of the citizen and the social and cultural flowering of the nation.
- Eliminating the exploitation of man by man.
- Protecting the national economy against any form of misappropriation or embezzlement, monopolization or illegal confiscation.

Article 9. The institutions are forbidden to engage in:

- Feudal or regionalistic practices and nepotism. The establishment of exploitive relations and dependent bonds.
- Practices contrary to Islamic morality and the values of November.

Article 10. The people choose their representatives freely. There are no limitations on the representation of the people but those established by the Constitution and the electoral law.

## Chapter 3—The State

Article 11. The state derives its legitimacy and its reason for being from the will of the people.

Its slogan is: "By the People and for the People."

It serves the people exclusively.

Article 12. The sovereignty of the state is exercised over its territory on land, airspace, and waters.

The state also exercises the authority established by international law for each of the various maritime areas over which it has jurisdiction.

Article 13. In no case can a part of the national territory be abandoned or alienated.

Article 14. The state is founded on the principles of democratic organization and social justice.

The elected Assembly constitutes the framework within which the will of the people is expressed and control of the actions of the public bodies is exercised.

Article 15. The territorial collectives of the state are the commune and the governorate.

The commune is the collective on the base level.

Article 16. The elected Assembly represents the seat of decentralization and the body wherein the citizens participate in the administration of public affairs.

Article 17. Public property constitutes an asset of the national collective.

It includes the subsoil, mines and quarries, natural sources of energy, and the mineral, natural, and living wealth in the various regions of the nation's maritime domain, waters, and forests.

Public ownership is also established for the railroad, maritime, and air transport facilities, the postal and telecommunications services, and also the other assets as established by law.

Article 18. The national domain is defined by law.

It includes the public and private domains of the state, the governorate, and the commune.

The administration of the national domain will be carried out in accordance with the law.

Article 19. The organization of foreign trade comes under the jurisdiction of the state.

The law will establish the conditions for the exercise and control of foreign trade.

Article 20. Expropriation is only allowed within the framework of the law. It will entail just and equitable prior indemnification.

Article 21. Employment by the institutions of the state may not represent a source of enrichment or a means of serving private interests.

Article 22. The abuse of authority will be punished by law.

Article 23. The state is responsible for the safety of each citizen. It will guarantee the protection of its citizens abroad.

Article 24. The consolidation and development of the defense potential of the nation will be organized on the basis of the People's National Army.

The People's National Army has the permanent assignment of safeguarding national independence and defending national sovereignty.

The Army is responsible for ensuring the defense of the unity and territorial integrity of the country, as well as the protection of its land territory, its airspace, and the various zones of its maritime domain.

Article 25. Algeria will not have recourse to war for the purpose of attacking the legitimate sovereignty and liberty of other peoples.

It will work toward the settlement of international differences by peaceful means.

Article 26. Algeria voices its solidarity with all of the peoples fighting for political and economic liberation, for the right of self-determination, and against all racial discrimination.

Article 27. Algeria will work to strengthen international cooperation and the development of friendly relations among nations on the basis of equality, mutual interest, and nonintervention in domestic affairs. It subscribes to the principles and goals of the United Nations Charter.

#### Chapter 4—Rights and Freedoms

Article 28. All citizens are equal before the law, and no discrimination will be allowed on the basis of birth, race, sex, opinions, or any other personal or social circumstance.

Article 29. Algerian nationality is defined by law.

The conditions for acquisition, retention, abandonment, and loss of Algerian nationality are established by law.

Article 30. The purpose of the institutions is to guarantee equality for all male and female citizens in terms of rights and duties by eliminating the obstacles which hinder the flowering of the human personality and prevent the effective participation of all citizens in political, economic, social, and cultural life.

Article 31. The basic freedoms and human and citizen's rights are guaranteed.

They constitute the common patrimony of all Algerians, both male and female, whose duty it is to pass them on from generation to generation, and to maintain their integrity and inviolability.

Article 32. The individual and collective defense of the basic human rights and of individual and collective freedoms is guaranteed.

Article 33. The state guarantees the inviolability of the human person. All forms of physical and moral violence are prohibited.

Article 34. Violations of rights and freedoms, as well as physical or moral attacks upon the integrity of the human individual, will be penalized by law.

Article 35. Freedom of conscience and freedom of opinion are inviolable.

Article 36. Freedom of intellectual, artistic, and scientific creation is guaranteed to the citizen.

Authors' rights are protected by law.

The confiscation of any publication, recording, or other vehicle of communication or information may only be effected by virtue of a court order.

Article 37. The private life and the honor of the citizen are inviolable and are protected by law.

The secrecy of correspondence and private communications, in all their forms, is guaranteed.

Article 38. The state guarantees the inviolability of the domicile.

No search may take place except in accordance with the provisions of the law and with respect therefor.

No search may be made except pursuant to a written order issued by the pertinent court authority.

Article 39. The freedoms of expression, association, and assembly are guaranteed to the citizen.

Article 40. The right to establish associations of a political nature is recognized.

This right, however, may not be utilized for the purpose of attacking the basic freedoms, national unity, territorial integrity, or independence of the country, or the sovereignty of the people.

Article 41. Every citizen, in the exercise of his civil and political rights, is entitled to choose his place of residence freely and to travel about the national territory.

The citizen is guaranteed the right to enter and leave the national territory.

Article 42. Each individual is presumed innocent until his guilt has been established by a regular court, in accordance with all of the guarantees required by law.

Article 43. No individual may be deemed guilty except by virtue of a law duly promulgated prior to the action on which the charge is based.

Article 44. No individual may be pursued, arrested, or detained except in those cases established by law and in the forms for which the law provides.

Article 45. Detention in connection with criminal investigations is subject to court supervision, and may not exceed 48 hours.

An individual in detention has the right to make immediate contact with his family.

The period of detention may not be extended, on an exceptional basis, except under the conditions established by law.

When the detention period expires, a medical examination of the individual detained is mandatory if he requests it, and in all cases, he must be informed of this right.

Article 46. The state will make reparations for judicial errors.

The law will establish the conditions for and the methods of making reparations.

Article 47. Any citizen meeting the legal requirements may vote and be elected.

Article 48. Equal access to employment and posts within the state apparatus is guaranteed to all citizens, with no conditions other than those established by law.

Article 49. Private ownership is guaranteed.

The right to inherit is guaranteed.

The assets of the Wakf and its foundations are recognized, and their uses are protected by law.

Article 50. The right to education is guaranteed. Education is free, under the conditions established by law.

Basic education is compulsory.

The state will organize the educational system.

The state will ensure equality of access to education and vocational training.

Article 51. All citizens are entitled to protection of their health.

The state will sponsor campaigns to prevent and combat epidemic and endemic diseases.

Article 52. All citizens have the right to work.

The right to protection, safety, and hygiene in the workplace is guaranteed by law.

The right to leisure time is guaranteed, and the law will determine the methods of exercising this right.

Article 53. Trade-union rights are recognized for all citizens.

Article 54. The right to strike is recognized. It will be exercised within the framework of the law, which may prohibit it or limit its exercise in the national defense and security sectors, or for all public activities or services of vital interest to the community.

Article 55. The family will benefit from the protection of the state and society.

Article 56. A living standard for citizens who cannot yet, cannot any longer, or never will be able to work is guaranteed.

## Chapter 5—Duties

Article 57. No one may disregard the law.

Each individual must respect the Constitution and conform to the laws of the Republic.

Article 58. Each citizen has a duty to protect and safeguard the independence of the country, its sovereignty, and the integrity of its national territory.

Treason, espionage, espousal of the enemy's cause, and any violation committed to the detriment of state security will be penalized to the full extent of the law.

Article 59. Every citizen must loyally meet his obligations to the national collective.

The citizen's commitment to the fatherland and his obligation to contribute to its defense constitute sacred and permanent duties.

The state guarantees respect for the symbols of the revolution, the memory of the chauhada [martyrs] and the dignity of their beneficiaries and the Mujahedin.

Article 60. All of the freedoms of the individual will be exercised with respect for the rights accorded others by the Constitution, particularly with regard to respect for the right of the honor, integrity and protection of the family, young people and children.

Article 61. Citizens are equal for the purposes of taxation. Each must contribute to the financing of public expenditures as a function of his capacity to contribute.

No tax may be established except by virtue of the law.

No tax, contribution, fee, or duty of any kind can be established with retroactive effect.

Article 62. The law endorses parents' duty to educate and protect their children, as well as the duty of children to aid and assist their parents.

Article 63. Every citizen has a duty to protect public property and the interests of the national collective and to respect the property of others.

Article 64. Any foreign citizen who visits the national territory legally will enjoy the protection of the law for his person and his property.

Article 65. No one may be extradited except by virtue of and pursuant to the extradition law.

Article 66. In no case may a political refugee legally benefiting from the right of asylum be surrendered or extradited.

## **Title II—Organization of the Government**

### **Chapter 1—The Executive Branch**

Article 67. The president of the Republic, the chief of state, embodies the unity of the nation.

He is the guarantor of the Constitution.

He represents the state within the country and abroad.

He speaks directly to the nation.

Article 68. The president of the Republic is elected by universal, direct, and secret ballot.

The election result is determined by an absolute majority of the votes cast.

The other aspects of the presidential election are established by law.

Article 69. The president of the Republic serves as the supreme magistrate, within the limits established by the Constitution.

Article 70. To be eligible for election to the Presidency of the Republic, an individual must be of Algerian nationality by birth, must profess the Muslim religion, must be at least 40 years of age as of the day of the election, and must be in full possession of all his civil and political rights.

Article 71. The presidential term of office is 5 years.

The president of the Republic can be re-elected.

Article 72. The president of the Republic takes his oath before the people and in the presence of all of the highest bodies of the nation in the week following his election.

He takes office as soon as he has been sworn in.

Article 73. The president of the republic takes the following oath:

"Faithful to the supreme sacrifice and the sacred memory of our martyrs, as well as to the ideals of the November revolution, I swear by the all-powerful God to respect and glorify the Islamic religion; to defend the Constitution; to respect the free choice of the people, as well as the institutions and laws of the Republic; to preserve the integrity of the national territory, the unity of the people and the nation; to protect the basic freedoms and human and citizen's rights; to work unceasingly for the development and prosperity of the people; and to devote all of my strength to the achievement of the great ideals of justice, freedom, and peace in the world."

Article 74. Apart from the authority expressly conferred upon him by other provisions of the Constitution, the president of the Republic exercises the following powers and prerogatives:

1. He is the supreme commander of all of the Armed Forces of the Republic.
2. He is responsible for national defense.
3. He establishes and conducts the foreign policy of the nation.
4. He presides over the Council of Ministers.
5. He appoints and dismisses the prime minister.
6. He signs presidential decrees.
7. He appoints the civilian and military officials of the state.
8. He exercises the right of free pardon, the right of remission, and the right to commute sentences.
9. On matters of national importance, he can have recourse to the people through the referendum.
10. He appoints and recalls ambassadors and the special representatives of the Republic abroad. He accepts the credentials announcing the appointment or recall of foreign diplomatic representatives.
11. He concludes and ratifies international treaties.
12. He awards the decorations, honors, and honorary titles of the state.

Article 75. The prime minister presents the members of the cabinet he has chosen to the president of the Republic, who appoints them.

The prime minister drafts his program and presents it to the Council of Ministers.

Article 76. The prime minister submits his program to the People's National Assembly for approval.

That body holds a general debate in this connection.

The prime minister may amend his program in the light of this discussion.

Article 77. If his program is not approved by the People's National Assembly, the prime minister submits the resignation of his cabinet to the president of the Republic.

The president then appoints a new prime minister, utilizing the same methods.

Article 78. If the approval of the People's National Assembly is again refused, that body is dissolved, ipso jure.

In such a case, new legislative elections will be held within a maximum of 3 months.

Article 79. The prime minister executes and coordinates the program adopted by the People's National Assembly.

Article 80. The government presents a statement of general policy to the People's National Assembly every year.

The statement of general policy is followed by a debate on the actions of the government.

This debate may lead to a resolution or to the filing of a motion of censure, in accordance with the provisions of Articles 126, 127, and 128 below.

The prime minister may call for a vote of confidence.

Article 81. Apart from the powers expressly conferred upon him by other constitutional provisions, the prime minister has the following authority:

1. He distributes authority among the members of the cabinet, respecting the provisions of the Constitution.
2. He presides over the Cabinet Council.
3. He oversees the execution of the laws and regulations.
4. He signs the executive decrees.
5. He appoints employees of the state, without prejudice to the provisions of Article 74, Paragraphs 7 and 10.

Article 82. The prime minister may submit the resignation of his cabinet to the president of the Republic.

Article 83. The president of the Republic may not in any case delegate the authority to appoint the members of the Constitutional Council subject to that authority; the

authority to appoint the prime minister, the members of the cabinet, the members of the High Security Council and the High Islamic Council; or the authority to remove them from their posts.

Similarly, he may not delegate his authority to have recourse to referendum, to dissolve the People's National Assembly, to convoke early legislative elections, or to implement the provisions set forth in Articles 86 through 91 of the Constitution, or the authority for which Paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, and 11 of Article 74 and Articles 117 and 118 of the Constitution provide.

Article 84. If the President of the Republic, because of serious and lasting illness, finds himself totally unable to carry out his duties, the Constitutional Council will meet, ipso jure, and after having established the reality of this incapacity by all appropriate means, will unanimously recommend to the People's National Assembly that it declare a state of incapacity.

The People's National Assembly will declare the president of the Republic incapacitated by a majority of two-thirds of its members, and will appoint its president to serve as interim chief of state for a maximum of 48 days. This official will exercise his prerogatives with respect for the provisions of Article 85 of the Constitution.

In the event that such incapacity continues after the 48-day period has elapsed, the post will be declared vacated by resignation, ipso jure, in accordance with the procedure set forth in the paragraphs above and the following paragraphs of this article.

In the event of the resignation or the death of the president of the Republic, the Constitutional Council will meet, ipso jure, and will declare the office of the Presidency of the Republic definitively vacant.

It will immediately inform the People's National Assembly that definitive vacancy has been declared, and that body will meet, ipso jure.

The president of the People's National Assembly will assume the post of chief of state for a maximum of 45 days, during which presidential elections will be convoked.

The chief of state, thus designated, cannot be a candidate for the office of president of the Republic.

The elected president of the Republic will serve his term in accordance with Articles 67 through 74 of the Constitution.

In the event that the death of a president of the Republic occurs when the People's National Assembly is not functioning because it has been dissolved, the Constitutional Council will meet, ipso jure, and will establish the definitive vacancy of the post of president of the Republic.

The president of the Constitutional Council will assume the duties of the chief of state under the conditions established in the paragraphs of the present article above, as well as Article 85 of the Constitution.

Article 85. The cabinet serving at the time of the incapacitation, death, or resignation of the president of the Republic cannot be dissolved or reorganized until the new president of the Republic takes office.

In the event that the prime minister in office is a candidate for the Presidency of the Republic, he will resign, ipso jure. The duties of the prime minister will be assumed by another member of the cabinet designated by the chief of state.

During the 45-day periods, the provisions set forth in Paragraphs 8 and 9 of Article 74 may not be implemented, nor may those set forth in Articles 75, 90, 120, 127, and 128 of the Constitution.

During these same periods, Articles 87, 88, 89, and 91 of the Constitution may not be implemented except following prior consultation of and approval by the People's National Assembly, the Constitutional Council, and the High Security Council.

Article 86. In the event of urgent necessity, the president of the Republic, following consultation with the High Security Council meeting in session, the president of the People's National Assembly, the prime minister, and the president of the Constitutional Council, will decree a state of emergency or a state of siege for a determined period, adopting all the measures necessary to correct the situation.

The duration of the state of emergency or state of siege may not be extended except with the approval of the People's National Assembly.

Article 87. When the country is threatened with imminent danger to its institutions, independence, or territorial integrity, the president of the Republic will declare a state of emergency.

This step will be taken after consultation with the Constitutional Council, the High Security Council, and the Council of Ministers.

A state of emergency empowers the president of the Republic to adopt the exceptional measures dictated by the need to preserve the independence of the nation and the institutions of the Republic.

The People's National Assembly will meet, ipso jure.

A state of emergency will be ended in the same fashion and in accordance with the above procedures governing its proclamation.

Article 88. General mobilization will be decreed by the president of the Republic.

Article 89. After consulting the Council of Ministers meeting in session and the High Security Council, the president of the Republic will declare war in case of actual or imminent attack, in accordance with the pertinent provisions of the United Nations Charter.

The People's National Assembly will meet, ipso jure.

The president of the Republic will inform the nation by means of a message.

Article 90. During a state of emergency, the Constitution is suspended, and the president of the Republic assumes all authority.

Article 91. The president of the Republic signs armistice agreements and peace treaties.

He solicits the advice of the Constitutional Council on the agreements which relate to it.

He submits them immediately to the People's National Assembly for its express approval.

## **Chapter 2—The Legislative Branch**

Article 92. The legislative authority is exercised by a single assembly called the People's National Assembly.

It has sovereign power to draft and approve laws.

Article 93. The People's National Assembly supervises the actions of the government under the conditions established in Articles 76 and 80 of the Constitution.

Article 94. Within the framework of its constitutional authority, the People's National Assembly must remain faithful to the mandate of the people and must be constantly attentive to their aspirations.

Article 95. The members of the People's National Assembly are elected by universal, direct, and secret ballot.

Article 96. The People's National Assembly is elected for a term of 5 years.

This term may not be extended other than in the event of exceptionally serious circumstances which prevent the normal holding of elections.

This situation will be determined by decision of the People's National Assembly on the recommendation of the president of the Republic, after consultation with the Constitutional Council.

Article 97. The procedures for electing deputies, and in particular the number of deputies, the requirements for eligibility, and the regulations governing conflict of will be established by law.

Article 98. The People's National Assembly has the authority to approve the mandates of the deputies.

Article 99. The mandate of a deputy is national and can be renewed.

Article 100. A deputy who fails to meet or no longer meets the requirements for eligibility will be required to resign his seat.

Based on approval by a majority of its members, the People's National Assembly will order his resignation..

Article 101. A deputy assumes a duty to his peers who may revoke his mandate if he commits an act unworthy of his post. The law will establish the conditions under which a deputy can be removed from his seat. This decision will be made by the People's National Assembly with approval by a majority of its members without prejudice to any other proceedings in common law.

Article 102. The conditions under which the People's National Assembly will accept the resignation of one of its members will be established by law.

Article 103. Each deputy will enjoy parliamentary immunity for the duration of his mandate.

No deputy may be sued, arrested, or, in general, subjected to any civil or criminal action or any other form of pressure because of the opinions he has expressed, the positions he has maintained, or the votes he has cast in the exercise of his mandate.

Article 104. No court action may be filed or instigated against a deputy for a criminal act unless he expressly waives his rights or unless the People's National Assembly, by a vote of a majority of its members, authorizes the revocation of his immunity.

Article 105. If a deputy is caught in the act of committing a misdemeanor or felony, he may be arrested, in which case the Bureau of the People's National Assembly must immediately be informed.

The Bureau of the People's National Assembly may request suspension of the court suit and the release of the deputy. He will then be prosecuted in accordance with the provisions of Article 104 above.

Article 106. The law will establish the conditions for replacing a deputy if his seat is vacated.

Article 107. The legislature will meet in session, ipso jure, on the 10th day following the date of the election of the People's National Assembly, with its senior member, aided by the two youngest deputies, presiding.

It will proceed to elect its bureau and to appoint its commissions.

Article 108. The president of the People's National Assembly is elected for the duration of the legislature.

Article 109. The organization and functioning of the People's National Assembly, as well as its budget and the compensation to be paid to its members, will be established by law.

The People's National Assembly drafts and approves its internal regulations.

Article 110. The sessions of the People's National Assembly are public. Minutes will be kept and will be made public in accordance with the provisions established by law.

The People's National Assembly may sit in closed session at the request of its president, the majority of the members present, or the cabinet.

Article 111. The People's National Assembly appoints its commissions in accordance with its internal regulations.

The commissions of the People's National Assembly are permanent commissions.

Article 112. The People's National Assembly will meet for two regular sessions every year, each lasting a maximum of 3 months. The People's National Assembly may be convoked to meet in extraordinary session by the president of the Republic or at the request of two-thirds of its members, or at the request of the prime minister.

An extraordinary session will be adjourned as soon as the People's National Assembly has completed the agenda which it was convoked to consider.

Article 113. The proposal of laws is the prerogative of the prime minister and the members of the People's National Assembly concurrently.

Draft laws must be sponsored by 20 deputies, in order to be considered.

Draft laws will be submitted to the Council of Ministers, and then presented by the prime minister to the Bureau of the People's National Assembly.

Article 114. No draft law which is designed to or has the effect of reducing public resources or increasing public expenditures may be accepted unless it is accompanied by measures designed to increase the income of the state or to effect savings in other public expense categories in a compensatory amount, at a minimum.

Article 115. The People's National Assembly will legislate in the fields in which the Constitution gives it authority.

The following come equally within the realm of law:

1. The basic rights and duties of individuals, in particular the system of public freedoms, the protection of individual freedoms, and the duties of citizens.
2. The general regulations pertaining to civil status and family law, and in particular marriage, divorce, linear consanguinity, legal competence, and inheritance.
3. The requirements for establishing legal status.
4. Basic legislation pertaining to nationality.
5. General regulations pertaining to foreigners' status.
6. Regulations pertaining to the organization of the courts and the establishment of jurisdictions.
7. The general rules of criminal law and criminal procedure, and in particular the description of misdemeanors and felonies, the establishment of commensurate penalties of all sorts, amnesty, and extradition.
8. The rules of procedure and methods of execution.
9. The system of civil and commercial obligations.
10. The electoral system.
11. The territorial division of the country.
12. Approval of the national plan.
13. Approval of the state budget.
14. The imposition of and base and rates for taxes, contributions, fees, and duties of all sorts.
15. The customs system.
16. The banking, credit, and insurance system.
17. The general regulations pertaining to education.
18. The general regulations pertaining to public health and the population.
19. The general regulations pertaining to the right to work and social security.

20. The general regulations pertaining to the environment and the living conditions.

21. The general regulations pertaining to the protection of animal and plant life.

22. The protection and safeguarding of the cultural and historic patrimony.

23. The general system of forests and pastoral lands.

24. The general water system.

25. The general system of mines and hydrocarbon resources.

26. The establishment of state decorations, awards, and honorific titles.

Article 116. All subjects other than those reserved for the realm of law come under the regulatory authority of the president of the Republic.

The implementation of the laws comes under the regulatory jurisdiction of the prime minister.

Article 117. Laws will be promulgated by the president of the Republic within 30 days of the date of their remittance.

Article 118. The president of the Republic may ask for a second reading of an approved law within the 30 days following its approval.

In such a case, a majority of two-thirds of the members of the People's National Assembly is required for approval of the law.

Article 119. The president of the Republic may address a message to the People's National Assembly.

Article 120. After consulting the president of the People's National Assembly and the prime minister, the president of the Republic may decide to dissolve the People's National Assembly or to convoke early legislative elections.

In both cases, the legislative elections will be held within a period of 3 months at a maximum.

Article 121. At the request of the president of the Republic or the president of the People's National Assembly, that body may engage in debate on foreign policy.

Such a discussion may lead, when necessary, to a People's National Assembly resolution, of which the president of that body will inform the president of the Republic.

Article 122. Armistice agreements, peace treaties, agreements pertaining to alliances and unions and to the frontiers of the state, as well as treaties pertaining to civil status and those entailing expenditures not included in the state budget, will be ratified by the president of the Republic after they have been expressly approved by the People's National Assembly.

Article 123. The treaties ratified by the president of the Republic under the conditions for which the Constitution provides have precedence over the law.

Article 124. The members of the People's National Assembly may interpellate members of the cabinet on current issues.

The commissions of the People's National Assembly may solicit the opinions of cabinet members.

Article 125. The members of the People's National Assembly may address any question to any cabinet member, orally or in written form.

Written questions will require a response in the same form within a maximum of 3 days.

Oral questions will require a response during an Assembly session.

If the People's National Assembly believes that an oral or written response by the member of the cabinet justifies discussion, such discussion will be conducted in accordance with the conditions established in the internal regulations of the People's National Assembly.

Questions and responses will be published in the same way as the minutes of the debates of the People's National Assembly.

Article 126. When debating a statement of general policy, the People's National Assembly can challenge the responsibility of the cabinet by voting on a motion of censure.

No such motion may be accepted unless sponsored by at least one-seventh of the deputies.

Article 127. A motion of censure must be approved by a two-thirds majority of the deputies.

No vote may be taken until 3 days after a motion of censure is filed.

Article 128. When a motion of censure is approved by the People's National Assembly, the prime minister will submit the resignation of his cabinet to the president of the Republic.

### Chapter 3—The Judicial Branch

Article 129. The judicial branch is independent.

Article 130. The judicial branch protects society and its freedoms. It guarantees each and every citizen that his fundamental rights will be protected.

Article 131. Justice is based on the principles of legality and equality.

It is equal for all, accessible to all, and is expressed through respect for the law.

Article 132. Justice is rendered in the name of the people.

Article 133. Criminal penalties are based on the principles of legality and individuality.

Article 134. Justice includes recourse against the actions of the public authorities.

Article 135. The decisions of the courts must be justified and announced in public hearings.

Article 136. All of the qualified bodies of the state are required to ensure the implementation of the judgments of the courts at all times, in all places, and under all circumstances.

Article 137. Justice is rendered by judges, who may be aided by people's advisers, under the conditions established by law.

Article 138. Judges owe allegiance only to the law.

Article 139. Judges are protected against all forms of pressure, intervention, or manipulation which could interfere with the accomplishment of their mission or respect for their free judgment.

Article 140. Judges are responsible to the Higher Magistrates' Council, in the forms prescribed by law, for the manner in which they carry out their mission.

Article 141. The law protects defendants before the court against any abuse or distortion by the judge.

Article 142. The right to a defense is recognized, and in criminal matters, it is guaranteed.

Article 143. The Supreme Court is the regulatory body for the actions of the courts and tribunals in all realms of the law.

It guarantees the standardization of jurisprudence throughout the country and watches over respect for the law.

Article 144. The organization, functioning, and other attributes of the Supreme Court are established by law.

Article 145. The president of the Republic presides over the Higher Magistrates' Council.

Article 146. The Higher Magistrates' Council is responsible, under the conditions established by law, for the appointment, transfer, and advancement of judges.

It watches over respect for the provisions of the statutes for judges and oversees the disciplining of judges, under the presidency of the first president of the Supreme Court.

Article 147. The Higher Magistrates' Council issues a consultative opinion prior to the exercise of the right of pardon by the president of the Republic.

Article 148. The structure, functioning, and other attributes of the Higher Magistrates' Council are established by law.

### **Title III—The Legislative Bodies' Contract**

#### **Chapter 1—Supervision**

Article 149. The elected assemblies have the responsibility for supervision on the popular level.

Article 150. The cabinet must account to the People's National Assembly for the use of the budget credits allocated to it for each fiscal period.

The fiscal period ends, where the People's National Assembly is concerned, when a law calling for the budgetary settlement for the fiscal period under consideration is approved.

Article 151. The People's National Assembly may, within the framework of its prerogatives, appoint an investigative commission on any matter of general interest and at any time.

Article 152. The supervisory bodies and institutions have the task of verifying that legislative and executive actions conform to the Constitution, and the conditions under which the material resources and public funds are used and administered.

Article 153. A Constitutional Council is established, with responsibility for watching over respect for the Constitution.

The Constitutional Council will additionally oversee the regularity of referendum operations, the election of the president of the Republic, and the legislative elections. It will announce the results of these operations.

Article 154. The Constitutional Council is made up of seven members, two of them appointed by the president of the Republic, two elected by the People's National Assembly, and two elected by the Supreme Court from its membership.

As soon as these members are elected or appointed, they must surrender any other mandates, posts, responsibilities, or assignments.

The members of the Constitutional Council will serve for one single term of 6 years, with half renewable every 3 years.

The president of the Republic will appoint the president of the Constitutional Council for a single term of 6 years.

Article 155. Apart from the other attributions expressly conferred upon it by other provisions of the Constitution, the Constitutional Council will rule on the constitutionality of treaties, laws, and regulations, either by issuing opinions, for those which have not yet been put into effect, or by rendering decisions, for those which have been implemented.

The Council will also rule on the conformity of the internal regulations of the People's National Assembly to the Constitution.

Article 156. The Constitutional Council will be called upon to rule by the president of the Republic or the president of the People's National Assembly.

Article 157. The Constitutional Council will deliberate behind closed doors, and its opinion or decision will be rendered within 20 days of the date any matter is referred to it.

The Constitutional Council will establish the regulations governing its own functioning.

Article 158. If a treaty, agreement or convention is ruled unconstitutional by the Constitutional Council, it may not be ratified.

Article 159. When the Constitutional Council rules that a legislative or regulatory provision is unconstitutional, that provision ceases to have any effect as of the day of the Council's decision.

Article 160. An Accounting Court is established for the a posteriori control of the finances of the state, the territorial collectives, and the public establishments.

The Accounting Court will draft an annual report which it will submit to the president of the Republic.

The law will establish the organization and the functioning of the Accounting Court and the penalties pursuant to its investigations.

#### **Chapter 2—Consultative Bodies**

Article 161. A High Islamic Council attached to the Presidency of the Republic is established.

The High Islamic Council will be made up of 11 members appointed by the president of the Republic from among religious leaders.

The High Islamic Council will elect its president from among its members.

Article 162. A High Security Council, over which the president of the Republic will preside, is established. This body is entrusted with the task of advising the president on all issues pertaining to national security.

The organizational and operational methods of the High Security Council will be established by the president of the Republic.

#### Title IV—Constitutional Revision

Article 163. Any constitutional revision will be initiated by the president of the Republic, approved by the People's National Assembly, submitted for the approval of the people by referendum, and promulgated by the president of the Republic.

Article 164. When, in the justified opinion of the Constitutional Council, a proposed constitutional revision does not in any way violate the general principles governing Algerian society or the rights and freedoms of the individual and the citizen, nor does it affect the basic balance of the branches and institutions in any way, the president of the Republic may promulgate the law revising the Constitution directly, without subjecting it to a popular referendum, provided it has been approved by three-quarters of the members of the People's National Assembly.

Article 165. After approval by the People's National Assembly under the same conditions as are required for a legislative text, a law revising the Constitution will be submitted to the people for approval by referendum, within 45 days of its approval by the People's National Assembly.

Article 166. A constitutional revision law which is rejected by the people becomes null and void, and it may not be submitted to the people again during the same legislature.

Article 167. The president of the Republic will promulgate the text of any constitutional revision approved by the people.

Temporary Provision. The three members of the Constitutional Council who will be affected by the first partial term renewal will be chosen by lot. A drawing will select one of each pair of members appointed or elected by the same authority.

#### Some Groups Oppose Changes

Paris *LE MONDE* in French 25 Feb 89 p 5

[Article by Frederic Fritscher]

[Text] On Thursday, 23 February, the Algerian voters said "yes," with 73.43 percent of the votes cast—one of the lowest scores obtained in any popular consultation in Algeria, to the new Constitution, which puts an end to the socialist option and introduces the multiparty system. In December, during the first referendum on political reforms, the "yes" vote carried the day by more than 20 additional points (92.27 percent), while President Chadli Bendjedid was elected last December by winning 81.17 percent of the votes cast.

The number of voters participating—12,961,628 (or 78.81 percent)—was also down following the consultations at the end of last year. It even fell 10 points below the turnout for the presidential election (88.90 percent) and five points below that for the December referendum (83.13 percent).

This referendum was, in fact, the last act in a play which has seen Algeria turn its back on its former ideals in a period of just a few months. The era of the single party and socialism, endorsed by the old 1976 constitution in its very first article, is now past. There is no longer any reference to the National Charter, the reference text for Algerian socialism, and a veritable political program for the National Liberation Front Party from which the constitution was drawn.

The new version is specific. Among other things, in its Article 40 it recognizes the right to establish associations of a political nature (*LE MONDE*, 7 February), and thus, implicitly, the multiparty system. This era is beginning, as it were, today, 27 years after the country won its independence. The Constitution also endorses the separation of powers, guarantees individual and collective freedoms, and—as promised by President Chadli during the Sixth FLN Congress last November—establishes a Constitutional Council.

The campaign preceding this referendum was rather discreet, even in the days just preceding the balloting. Some posters had indeed been hastily put up here and there, with a text praising all of the virtues of the Constitution printed below the sweet smiling faces of two children, a little girl and a little boy, but without any rousing slogan. It was as if Algeria expected to move with simplicity into what has come to be called its "Second Republic."

The limited enthusiasm of the members of the FLN for a text stripped of ideology had led the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Front to appeal to the people of Algeria for a "massive turnout." The General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA, the only trade union), which is directly sponsored by the party, issued an anonymous appeal to "all of the workers to go to the

polls en masse." But the UGTA, which had in the same communique emphasized "the unending devotion to the choices and ideological references set forth in the National Charter," expressed the view that in the future, "The official framework established by the basic texts of the country will allow the workers and their trade-union organization to reaffirm their attachment to socialism." The internal differences within the FLN and its mass organizations, wherein a large number of members and cadres are opposed to the constitutional revision, were clearly visible. And the lack of formal instructions to vote plainly reflected growing unease. Only the Union of Fishermen, Merchants, and Artisans (UNPCA) firmly declared its intention, "united behind the FLN," to go "to the polls to vote 'yes'."

The Socialist Vanguard Party (PAGS, communists) had, also unambiguously, appealed for a "massive affirmative vote for a real democratic advance," which according to one of its pamphlets is "consistent with the concept of Islam in the minds of the popular masses and the forces of progress." The Rally for Culture and Democracy (RCD, Berber), established just 2 weeks ago in Tizi-Ouzou, at the conclusion of the sessions of the Berber Cultural Movement, gave its members no instructions on voting, but it clearly announced its inclination when it was organized in "the spirit of the current political reforms."

And, finally, the Labor Trade-Union Organization (OST, the Algerian section of the Fourth International) was one of the rare groups to urge voters "not to participate in the 23 February referendum," in a long argumentative pamphlet. The Islamists, including several factions which have organized in the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS, LE MONDE, 23 February), issued no voting instructions. However, some imams urged the faithful to abstain in the course of their sermons at the mosques.

### The Multiparty System

Prior to the balloting, Algerians were wondering about the scope and implications for their daily lives of the new text. They willingly voiced their complaints, and they accused the government of having drafted the new Constitution without any prior consultation of the people. And they also had the feeling that they had been taken in. By voting "no," they espoused the position of defenders of the old system based on a single party. But by voting "yes," they thereby approved the draft, and thus, on the same occasion, expressed their confidence in the government in office and in President Chadli, who was re-elected on 22 December last as the single candidate of the single party. Many Algerians would have liked an opportunity to express their skepticism at seeing the same men lead the reforms and implement the texts describing the very opposite of the system they headed just yesterday.

The press as a whole echoed certain popular concerns. The columns of the daily papers were filled for several weeks with "free opinions." Roundtable discussions were organized on television and by the various radio stations which did not hesitate to debate both sides of the issue with the opposing interlocutors. As a sign of the times, the evening daily HORIZONS carried on its front page, on the night before the referendum, four "exclusive" interviews with a fundamentalist imam, a communist official, a representative of the liberal faction and the president of the Algerian Human Rights League. Never, just 6 months ago, would a newspaper editor have taken the risk (and he would not have obtained authorization, moreover) of publishing the statements of those speaking on behalf of illegal parties or political movements.

What was prohibited yesterday is being encouraged today. And those who are impatient are already thinking of tomorrow. The post-Constitution period. For the most important points in the text are dependent for their implementation on laws on which the People's National Assembly (the parliament), in which the deputies chosen by the single party are still sitting, will soon vote. A new information code guaranteeing freedom of expression and protecting journalists is scheduled to be submitted to the APN, along with an electoral code authorizing, among other things, free candidacy in the elections for the seats in the people's assemblies, and defining the method of choosing the candidate or candidates for election to the presidency of the Republic. Finally, and this is of primary importance, a law on associations of a political nature defining the "legal framework" for the multiparty system will also be submitted to the deputies.

Only the content of these future laws will make possible a real assessment of the nature and the depth of the changes promised by President Chadli as of last 10 October when he gave the address which put an end to a week of bloody rebellions (LE MONDE, 12 October 1988).

### Union of Democratic Forces

A new organization called the Union of Democratic Forces (UFD) has just been established in Algeria at the initiative of Mr Ahmed Mahsas, former agriculture minister, the official APS agency has reported. The UFD includes political and military officials from the era of the war of independence, as well as "young revolutionary intellectuals and militants in various factions who have united to bring about democracy and freedom of conscience, opinion, and expression."

### EGYPT

#### Egypt, Morocco Sign Nuclear, Non-Nuclear Energy Protocol

45000121 Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 1 Feb 89 p 6

[Report by Muhammad al-Shamma']

[Text] Today a technical cooperation protocol was signed between Egypt and Morocco in the fields of traditional and nuclear energy and the mining industries.

The protocol was signed on the Egyptian side by Minister of Electricity and Energy Mahir Abazah and on the Moroccan side by Minister of Energy and Mining Mohamed Fatah.

Over the last 2 days, the two sides have reviewed the possibility of technical cooperation in the area of domestic industries for generators, electrical transformers, new and renewable energy, plans for electricity grids, and exploiting domestic expertise and capabilities in joint manufacturing between the two countries.

Minister of Electricity Mahir Abazah said that the Egyptian-Moroccan joint delegation is charged with setting up cooperative projects and that these projects will be submitted to the two countries' supreme committee.

AL-AKHBAR has learned that the Moroccan side has requested Egypt's participation in hands-on training for the technical aspect of the nuclear project and in exporting sulfur necessary to Morocco's phosphate production. Morocco's need for raw sulfur is estimated at three tons annually.

During the talks, the Moroccan minister also reviewed energy programs in Morocco and extending the capabilities of Egyptian participation in implementing some of its projects in designing or building power stations, and in implementing the scheduled Moroccan nuclear program until the year 2000.

The Moroccan minister said that his visit to Egypt came within the framework of directions from His Majesty King Hassan II to cooperate in various areas, as Egypt has tremendous technical and industrial capabilities, and to maintain the potential for completing projects between the two countries benefitting both Egypt and Morocco. He said that Morocco produces approximately 1,200 tons of uranium annually, which it extracts from phosphoric acid derived from phosphate. He said Morocco is able to offer its technical expertise in the area of uranium manufacturing, whose establishment in Egypt is imminent.

#### **AL-AKHBAR Assails Shamir's Stand on Peace Conference**

NC0503212089 Cairo MENA in Arabic  
2035 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] AL-AKHBAR newspaper has emphasized that Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir's insistence on rejecting the idea of convening an international Middle East peace conference with the participation of all parties, foremost among which is the PLO, shuts the only door which could lead to the agreement of the Arab world as a whole to enter into a dialogue with an Israeli government.

In its edition which will appear tomorrow, Monday, the newspaper says that Shamir's stand indicates that he wants to choose the framework that would enable him to

achieve his objectives under the pretext of sham talks in which the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people would be excluded. The paper adds that Israel engineered wide-scale campaigns of deception that dragged on for years to conceal the reality of the Palestinian problem. Israel tried to depict the issue as one of refugees. But when the facts were revealed and the world became aware of the dimensions of the tragedy, the Israeli leaders resorted to new methods of deception. The most recent of these is Shamir's claim, which he presents to the world every now and then, that he is undertaking a peace initiative.

AL-AKHBAR emphasizes that the only way to restore peace and stability to the Middle East is through an international conference. This view is supported by all the countries in the world except for Israel.

#### **New Oil Field Discovered in Suez Gulf**

JN0403081189 Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic  
1 Mar 89 p 1

[By Khalid Jabr]

[Text] A new oil field, with a production capacity of 5,000 barrels of heavy oil daily, has been discovered in the Gulf of Suez.

'Abd-al-Hadi Qandil, minister of petroleum and mineral resources, decided to begin developing the field and linking it to production facilities in the region. The discovery was made by the international Shell Oil Company. The field is 10 km from Jamsah, where the first oil field in Egypt was discovered 102 [figure as published] years ago.

The new field gave positive signs with the digging of three exploratory wells. The crude was discovered in a 140-meter layer of myosin sand. According to the estimates of the U.S. oil center, the quality rate varies from 19 to 29 degrees.

#### **Opposition Leaders on 'Incidents'**

JN2602181889 Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic  
24 Feb 89 p 3

[Excerpts] The leaders of the opposition parties have held a major news conference, attended by a large number of Egyptian journalists and correspondents of the Arab and foreign press and news agencies, to explain the facts and dimensions of the regrettable incidents that took place at the People's Assembly Monday and the role of Interior Minister Major General Zaki Badr in stepping up the incidents through his undemocratic and unethical practices. The conference was held at 1300 on Thursday at the Labor Party headquarters at the Al-Qubbah gardens amid an intensive security blockade. [passage omitted]

Al-Wafd leader Fu'ad Siraj al-Din stressed during the conference that the reports published in newspapers did not reflect the truth of what actually took place at the People's Assembly's hall on Monday.

He said: "What happened during the session was a farce in which the interior minister, through an agreement with the speaker, was involved. It was a tragedy in which the Constitution and democracy were slaughtered."

The Al-Wafd leader added: "Now that the time of issuing statements by the opposition leaders is over, it is high time a serious action to save the country from its current bizarre and deteriorating situation is taken. We deceive ourselves if we believe that we live in a democratic atmosphere. We, in fact, live only at the sideline of democracy."

Concluding, the Al-Wafd leader said: "We have been giving them advice over the past years, but all that proved to be in vain. One day they will very much regret this."

Labor Party leader Ibrahim Shukri said at the beginning of the conference that the interior minister arranged the People's Assembly incidents in a contemptable attempt to slander the opposition leaders concerning a subject not related to the four questions addressed to him. [passage omitted]

Chancellor Ma'mun al-Hudaybi, representative of the Muslim Brotherhood and member of the alliance, stressed in the conference that what happened was a farce designed to destroy parliamentary life and ruin the democratic experience. He said: "This farce was performed by a minister and a speaker who do not believe in democracy. We, therefore, are experiencing a terrible time that we had never imagined we'd see. We are asking the government to restore citizens' security and safety after dialogue in the People's Assembly reached the level of accusations related to honor."

National Progressive Unionist Grouping representative Lutfi Wakid said that the grouping declares its full solidarity with the parliamentary opposition. "We have never heard or seen throughout Egyptian parliamentary life such incidents or a minister fully departing from the subjects that he was supposed to explain and discuss." [passage omitted]

Liberal Party leader Mustafa Kamil Murad said what happened at the People's Assembly is a mark of disgrace for Egyptian policy and its long history. He said: "I have experienced Egyptian parliamentary life for many years, during which many brawls took place. However, I have never seen a person worse and more rude than this minister, whose espionage scandals against the opposition parties and the parliamentarians surpassed all scandals of the world. Never before have recorders and television sets entered the People's Assembly to show tapes and cassettes of espionage against deputies. The

parliament has its respect, and its function is to make laws and exercise control, not to see videocassettes and listen to recorded tapes. We have never seen this, even in the worst dictatorships. Where is the dignity of the People's Assembly and its members? And where is the Assembly's speaker?"

The Liberal Party leader wondered: "How did the minister and the speaker expect the deputies to react to this continuous flow of insults and obscenity by the minister against the deputies? There was a need for a reaction. And there is now need for an even stronger stand by the opposition. This minister should be removed and put on trial." [passage omitted]

Answering a question by AL-AHALI on the practical stand that the opposition intends to take toward the policies of Zaki Badr and the government, Ibrahim Shukri said: "The leaders of the opposition agreed to hold a meeting Saturday at the Al-Wafd offices at Al-Munirah to discuss the practical steps that we intend to take and to place every official clearly before his responsibility. We will announce those steps in due course."

Answering a question on the opposition reacting to grave events only by making statements, Al-Wafd leader Fu'ad Siraj al-Din said that all the leaders of the opposition agree and are convinced that the time of issuing statements is over.

On the acceptance of some opposition parties of financial assistance from the government, Siraj al-Din stressed that this assistance goes to some opposition papers and not to the parties. "Because of the increase in the price of paper," he said, "the more these newspapers sell, the more losses they incur." Siraj al-Din said that this is the situation in many countries. In the FRG, for instance, there is a law regulating financial assistance for the opposition. The amount paid depends on the number of the opposition deputies in the parliament, he said.

Asked about the presence of some government members inside the parties informing the government of the parties' news, Siraj al-Din said: "I can neither reject nor support this. Anyway, all parties' offices, including this place, contain bugging devices that relay the news to the secret police. Espionage codes are very sophisticated—so much so that in 1981, I was personally asked by the general prosecutor about a dialogue Dr Nu'man Jum'ah and I had in my bedroom with no third person present."

Answering the same questions, Ibrahim Shukri said: "The financial assistance goes to AL-SHA'B and AL-AHRAR newspapers. AL-SHA'B receives a monthly assistance of 7,000 Egyptian pounds, which, in light of the increased price of paper, represents only one-quarter of the cost of one weekly edition. This assistance does not affect our views or positions. Moreover, this is not

Zaki Badr or 'Atif Sidqi's money, but that of the people. All the government papers receive their salaries from the government, just like AL-SHA'B Publishing House."

On a question about the possibility of the opposition suing Zaki Badr in court, Ibrahim Shukri said: "Such a step is open for discussion during the meeting of the opposition parties on Saturday."

Asked about the idea of a collective resignation of the opposition parties from the People's Assembly, the leader of the parliamentary opposition said: "The government can simply and rudely replace this opposition with another. When, for instance, we boycotted the local council elections, Ummah Party leader brother Al-Sabahi did not keep his promise. Anyway, boycotting is not the only way to confront Zaki Badr's policy."

### Minister Disputes Number of Closed Apartments

#### Housing Minister Announces Plans

45040114a Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 21 Nov 88 p 4

[Article by Mahmud Ghanim]

[Text] Engineer Hasaballah al-Kafrawi, minister of housing, utilities, and new communities, announced that projects were ongoing to increase the production capacity of drinking water by the end of the current 5-year plan to 11.5 million cubic meters a day, compared to 8.5 million cubic meters in the current fiscal year, and to increase individual consumption from 166 liters to 202 liters a day, one of the highest rates of consumption in urbanized communities. Sewer capacity is also being increased, from 3.3 million cubic meters to 7 million cubic meters a day. The cost of these projects is 3.343 billion pounds.

An increase is also being achieved in cement production, amounting to 10.5 million tons a year, so production will increase from 12.5 million tons to 23 million tons a year. In addition, 24 housing communities will be completed, including 7 new cities which have begun to be settled, and 7 cities under construction, in addition to the 10 settlements around Greater Cairo.

The minister announced this at the opening of the first conference on housing for those of limited income, organized by the Engineers Union. It lasted 3 days and was attended by Eng 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman, chairman of the engineers; Eng Muhammad Mahmud, chairman of the construction agency; Major General Eng Wasfi Mubashar, chairman of the agency of builders cooperatives; Accountant Mahmud al-Manshaw, president of the Bank of Housing and Construction; and Eng Mustafa Rizq, first deputy of the Housing Ministry.

Eng al-Kafrawi discussed the facts of the 1.8 million closed apartments, and he mentioned that after the Central Office for Compilation and Statistics had made [this] public, a committee that included the various

factions in Egypt had been formed to determine, in cooperation with the office, the nature of these apartments. He explained that the survey would include rural units, units in summer resorts, apartments of renters and those working abroad, and those whose apartments are closed up, like doormen's rooms under staircases and storage rooms on roofs, in addition to the units that landlords reserve for their children—which they have a right to do. The minister explained that the new housing legislation would deal with this last matter by providing incentives for these units and having them rented on limited-term leases that would end when the landlord needed them.

Maj Gen Eng Wasfi Mubashir, chairman of the builders' cooperatives agency, announced a proposal that would put an end to the housing problem for members of the professional unions, whereby the unions would build for their members. A member would pay 1000 pounds out of his enrollment in the union as a deposit for a reduced-cost housing unit. After that he would pay 50 pounds a month as savings to the union, whenever he was capable of making that monthly instalment, for a period of 60 months. Thus, after being deposited in a bank, the savings of each member would be up to 4,000 pounds. Added to the cooperative loan (8,000 pounds), the total amount would be 12,000 pounds, the value of a reduced-cost housing unit. His remaining obligation, after receiving it, would be the repayment of the loan (in installments of 42 pounds a month). In case the cost of a unit is increased over this amount, the union would help with the increase with a no-interest loan from its coffers, which the participant would repay on terms to be determined by the union.

#### Housing Minister Accuses Statistics Office of 'Fabrication'

45040114a Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 22 Nov 88 p 1

[Article by Rida al-'Iraqi]

[Text] The Minister of Housing, Eng Hasaballah al-Kafrawi, accused the Central Office of General Compilation and Statistics of fabricating its annual report pertaining to the housing problem in Egypt, since the report pointed to the existence of 1.8 million vacant housing units. The housing minister said that if that number actually existed, this symposium would not have been held, and there would not be a housing problem in Egypt.

Hasaballah al-Kafrawi said that about half a million Egyptian citizens inhabit about 96 percent of the area of Egypt, and that 4 percent of the area is inhabited by the entire population. [as published]

That was reported in the symposium that was held by the Engineers' Union and to which the minister was invited. The topic of the symposium was "Housing for Those With Limited Income."

**Investment Company Director Sentenced to 23 Years**

JN0403073789 Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic  
1 Mar 89 p 1

[By Ni'mat al-Hadi]

[Text] The Bulaq al-Dakrur criminal court has sentenced Ahmad Tawfiq al-Rayyan to 23 years imprisonment with labor, a fine of 28,000 Egyptian pounds, and remuneration for depositors mentioned in nine cases. The depositors accused al-Rayyan of fraud and dissipation of their money. The court's chief judge, Shawqi Ahmad Fayid, gave the verdict in the presence of the public prosecutor, Tariq Mahjub, and the secretary, 'Ali 'Abd-al-Mun'im.

Nine depositors, including a chancellor, a lawyer, and women teachers, sued Ahmad Tawfiq 'Abd-al-Fattah, chairman of the board of directors of Al-Rayyan Company. They said they deposited the money that they had collected in long years of sweat and struggle hoping to make monthly profits to help them afford the cost of living after the company had deceived them through its attractive advertisements in the news media. But they were surprised that the company stopped paying the monthly profits and refrained from returning their money.

In its justification of the sentence, the court said the charge against the defendant is proven. The defendant also failed to attend the court session, although he was informed in the prison. The court said the defendant deserved maximum punishment after the court became certain that he had dissipated the money of the depositors, amounting to \$137,000 and 78,000 Egyptian pounds.

**Pope Shinudah on Party Formation**

JN2602090089 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic  
23 Feb 89 p 7

[By Rajab al-Banna]

[Text] An advertisement in the papers a few days ago has raised a hue and cry as well as question and exclamation marks because it has appeared at an inappropriate time and was placed by persons whose names have not been heard before.

The advertisement, which was placed in the papers by the socialist prosecutor, lists the names of 50 men and women who, by their names, appear to be Christians, and says that they have submitted a request to the parties committee to form a new party under the name of the Party of Social Peace and the Preservation of National Unity [Hizb al-Salam al-ijtima'i wa siyanat al-wahdah al-wataniyah]. Under the law, the socialist prosecutor's office must publish these names and those who have any legal objections to the names should declare their objection.

Who are these people, and what do they want? What party is this which can claim that it will be responsible for national unity which is a national cause and the responsibility of all the existing parties, not to mention that it is also the responsibility of the state and every citizen? Why have they confined the formation of their party to Christians only? Before anything else, are they really seriously seeking to establish a new political party? Are they qualified to lead such a party in terms of efficiency, experience, and political history, or are they a group of adventurers who will only have to pay for some stamps, signatures, and papers to play this "game"?

These many questions came to my mind and I thought that His Holiness Pope Shinudah is the only man who can give me the necessary answers.

His holiness the pope did not smile as usual. He had passed his day meeting with delegations representing the Egyptian churches in the diaspora. However, he granted me some of his time and received me in his office early in the morning.

I said: "Your Holiness, many writers have written about this advertisement, some ridiculing it, others vehemently criticizing it. Others imagined that there were hidden dimensions behind it. Some of these writers held the church responsible for confronting and tackling this issue. First of all of, what do you think about this party?"

His holiness said in a calm voice: "Believe me, I was astonished. I was surprised when this advertisement was published in AL-AHRAM. Although no mention was made that it was a Christian party, it was obvious from going through the names of all those who submitted the request to form this party that they were Christians. From their names, I can say that they are from the Orthodox denomination. Some of them are brothers and relatives as many names have the same family names. Many conjectures have been made on the identity of the founders of this party. We do not agree to the formation of a Christian political party even if its name is the Party of Social Peace and the Preservation of National Unity. National unity takes place through interaction and merging. No one party can claim that it alone represents national unity."

I said: "But whoever read the advertisement and commented on it, talked about it as Christian party?"

His holiness the pope held the advertisement clipping which was on his desk and contemplated the names anew. Then he said:

"I forgive them. The idea of this party is not logical. This is why, before it was even started, some guesswork on its identity was done. Whoever read about it thought of it as a Christian party because all the names of its founders are Christian names, despite the fact that it does not include any of the Coptic public figures. It does not contain the names of those Copts who work in public

places and who have become known in the political corps as former ministers or members of the People's Assembly or Consultative Council, nor members working in the general Christian bodies such as the general financial body and its branches or the Coptic Awqaf body, nor even members in the committees or bodies of the churches. Nor are they leaders or prominent members in the large Coptic charity organizations, nor of the ranking servants of the church known in Coptic circles. None of the founders are names of Copts well known in union work, or writers, or university professors, or big businessmen. Is this not strange? Could a political party be based on names unknown to the people other than through this advertisement?"

I said: "There remains the possibility that they are a group of decent people who, with only good intentions, thought this would serve the call for national unity?"

He reflected for an instant and then answered me calmly:

"I was surprised at what has been published about this party. We know nothing about its political program and goals other than what can be deduced from its name: the Party of Social Peace and the Preservation of National Unity. National unity is everyone's aim and cannot be achieved at all by forming a party comprising Copts only. Unity can be achieved by joint action, merging together, and the presence together in all fields. We have always lived together. Muslims and Christians live in the same house, on the same street, in the same neighborhood, and the same village. One store could be owned by two partners, one Muslim and the other Christian. We have always lived like this and will always live so, God willing. Whoever wishes to deepen national unity has to work on deepening this spirit and spreading love, forgiveness, and mutual understanding, not by a group of Copts standing alone with their own ideas. What can this group do alone for national unity? One party alone cannot represent the meaning of unity, can it?"

I said: "Your Holiness the Pope, this leads us to a question on the Egyptian church's stand on this same principle."

He answered me thus:

"The church ... the church does not agree at all to the establishment of a Christian political party. There is no precedent on this issue in the history of the Copts. The Copts constantly work within the general parties in Egypt together with their Muslim brothers in political work, as has happened in the past and is happening presently. Let us not forget that a Christian was nominated and succeeded in becoming a deputy in the People's Assembly heading the list of the Islamic alliance. It is not in the interest of the Copts to have their own political party. Such a party has practically no chance of winning in any elections. The Christians do not like to work individually. They are always a part of the web of Egyptian society. The establishment of a Christian party

could end in partition and not in national unity. It is as though they are making an obstacle out of religion which prevents them from joining their Muslim brothers. Their party will also have a counterreaction which will not serve the interests of national unity or social peace."

You ask me about the church's stand. I would like to say that the church always seeks to realize unity, to bolster the sentiments of affection and cooperation, and to dissolve differences. Copts and Muslims have always worked together, side by side, in the political field, as we all have national objectives whose attainment is important to both Christians and Muslims. And here comes the importance of closing ranks in the national struggle and also in domestic issues. We were together in our confrontation of the economic and social problems, in public service, and also in confronting the external enemy. Hence, what are the justifications for the existence of a Christian party? Faced with the economic problem, can there be any differences between Muslims and Christians on the need to cope with this problem? Copts are not a self-sustaining element in Egypt. This idea is highly significant. Therefore, I always voice it and repeat it to make sure that it is heard and that it finds its place in every heart. The Copts are threads interwoven in this one and same Egyptian fabric. They work together with their Muslim brothers in all fields. Why then should they separate themselves in the political field?"

A moment of silence passed. The moment was interrupted by one of the pope's secretaries who brought a small piece of paper to the pope. It seemed to contain notification that visitors had arrived and that they should be meeting with him right now. His Holiness Pope Shinudah glanced at the note, went over it, and looked at me.

I said: "Now, let us ask a question about the principle. What is the role of the Egyptian Church in political action?"

His answer was given while stressing each word to lend it emphasis. He said: "First, the church is a nationalist institution rather than a partisan one. Second, the church is interested in the welfare of this homeland and prays for the happiness of those working in it. The church gives every Christian the freedom to choose the political current he or she wishes to advocate. Hence, there are Christians in all political parties."

Pope Shinudah added: "The church encourages the Christians to take part in public life and urges them to have their names listed on election rosters and to cast their votes. It also hopes that every Muslim and Christian citizen will be eager to do that, as this is our homeland and we must have a role to play in this homeland."

Pope Shinudah went on to say: "The church is also interested in world peace. The church prays every day for peace in the region in which we live, that is, for

Middle East peace and for securing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Besides, the church welcomes any action that would help bring about the stability and welfare of this region. Hence, we have been very pleased with the international support voiced for resolving the Palestine question. We have also been very gladdened by the efforts to convene an international peace conference."

Pope Shinudah said: "The church is energetically involved in public national issues and supports national objectives. The church supports President Mubarak and prays to God to help him achieve his objectives and crown with success his efforts seeking the welfare of this homeland. We bless his pan-Arab steps in various spheres. The church neither supports nor harbors enmity toward any specific party." The pope looked at me smiling and asked: "Is this answer clear?"

I said: "The dialogue leads us to the last pan-Arab step taken; namely, the establishment of the Arab Cooperation Council [ACC] grouping Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and the YAR. Has the church announced its stand vis-a-vis this issue?"

His holiness the pope looked at me with mild and friendly reproach in his eyes and said: "Of course, we have announced our stand. Each unity is a source of strength. And the unity of the four states grouping this council brought happiness to every heart, as it is a strong step taken with the aim of realizing an Arab unity based on sound bases of friendliness, on solid agreement on policies, and also on joint action. This step was the result of many years of good ties maintained among the four states. Hence, we expect that this council will score great successes, God willing. We also expect that other Arab states will join the council. There is no doubt that this council will have its effect on the economy of our country and the economies of the other ACC member states. Besides, this council will have great impact on trade cooperation."

Pope Shinudah added: "This council bolsters the Arab League. I differ with those who do not share this opinion of mine, as each inter-Arab cohesion would lead to cohesion within the Arab League, particularly if we take into account the fact that this council comprises some of the most powerful Arab League member states. The establishment of the ACC is also evidence of the success scored by the policy being pursued by President Mubarak in his foreign contacts."

This is how Pope Shinudah, head of the Coptic Church spoke. No more room has been left for interpretations or guesswork.

**Journalist Assails Soviet Ambassador's Behavior**  
45040239b Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic  
23 Feb 89 p 5

[Article by Muhammad al-Hayawan: "Word of Love"]

[Text] On every occasion, Egypt expresses pride in the Egyptian press and in its freedom. Free press has become the crown adorning Egypt's head, a crown about which

Egypt boasts among the nations. But the Russian ambassador has insulted the Egyptian press and accused an Egyptian journalist of being a paid pen and of collecting bribe money. This ambassador is still walking on Egypt's soil, moving, and receiving officials. We have not heard that an official has tweaked this ambassador's ear for insulting Egypt's press. We have not heard that an official has asked him to apologize for what he said or for the offense he has committed against Egypt's honor.

I understand that this very ambassador has violated diplomatic protocol repeatedly by holding press conferences without notifying the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This is an open attack on diplomatic protocol and traditions. Yet, nobody has drawn this ambassador's attention. I have also heard that a prominent Egyptian official has advised the ambassador and drawn his attention to the fact that he is Russia's ambassador to the Egyptian Government, not to the Egyptian Communist Party, and that he has to be reasonable in his movements, behavior, and statements and that he should not imagine that he is an extraordinary ambassador who is above protocol and tradition. All this means that the Russian ambassador is "disregarding" Egypt, is concerned with nobody, and is paying attention to nobody.

The law prohibits suing the ambassador for defamation because he enjoys immunity. Moreover, it is unreasonable that I should take my own due, else I would make the same mistake which the Egypt's Revolution gang made and would commit a crime punishable by law. This is why I have turned to the Journalists Union which sent a protest to the minister of foreign affairs. We haven't heard that anything has been done.

I don't know why we are being so courteous to the Russian ambassador. What can Russia offer us? Russia either imports or steals knowledge and expertise from the west. There is no hope that knowledge or expertise will be imported from it because he who does not have something cannot give it. Russia imports food. So there is no hope that we will import food from it. Russia admits that its production is sub-standard. So there is no hope that we will purchase damaged goods from it. If Russia has rescheduled the debts Egypt owes it, this is no act of courtesy. Russia has not yet paid the cost of the weapons it purchased from the United States. So why should Egypt pay?

In conclusion, I will tell the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the Egyptian press' prestige will be in danger if the ministry fails to respond to the Journalist Union's letter.

**Columnist Warns of Western Plan To Control Red Sea**

45040114b Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 29 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by Hamdi al-Shami: "Israel's Strategy in the Red Sea Threatens Arab National Security"]

[Text] The news constantly reports that the movements of southern Sudan and northern Somalia are being supplied with Israeli and Soviet arms, while the airplane

of the Sudanese defense minister was subjected to an attack by a Soviet-made SAM-7 missile immediately after the signing of the Sudanese peace agreement. This points to Israeli, American, and Soviet interference in southern Sudan and the Horn of Africa, within conflicting strategies that fall within the interests of each one of them in upsetting the security in this region that is of utmost importance to Arab national security on account of the present conflict between the superpowers over the regions of the Red Sea, which include the Horn of Africa, Northeast Africa, and Southwest Asia.

Israel is competing with the two superpowers, and it is trying to shore up the separatist movement of southern Sudan within its strategy aimed at dividing the Arab world in an attempt to control the Red Sea by claiming an old right to it. Meanwhile, Ethiopia and the Soviet Union are striving after the same goal by trying to use the strategy of Soviet security belts.

The Soviet security belt that starts in Afghanistan, passes through southern Sudan, and goes on to the west coast of Africa, aims at its eastern end at putting pressure on the Arab Gulf states and Iran; at its middle the isolation of southern Sudan; and at its western end at putting pressure on the Arab Republic of Egypt and weakening it. Meanwhile America, with its support of Somalia, stands with Israel in a single trench.

These hostile movements demand that the Arab world be completely vigilant, since in the first place they target the security of the Red Sea while the Arabs nap, in order to achieve the division of the Arab world into Asian Arab states and African Arab states, which would lead to Arab weakness and the control of the Red Sea. Israel, America, and the Soviet Union agree that Arab weakness is a goal to be achieved, along with their struggle for the Red Sea, on account of its being a vital artery linking the Mediterranean Sea through the Suez Canal in the north, to the Indian Ocean through the Bab al-Mandab straits in the south, and on account of what controlling it would mean in terms of controlling the supplies of oil from the Gulf to Europe, America, and the Soviet Union, in addition to international trade activity between North and South.

Strategists agree that the conflicts between the Red Sea states on the one hand, and Israel and the world superpowers on the other, will cause the regional conflicts to escalate willy-nilly to international proportions, which indicates that the Red Sea will see a period of bitter struggle in the foreseeable future that might resemble the Gulf War in some of its aspects if the Arab states bordering the Red Sea do not perceive the elements of this resemblance and work together to lay down a unified strategy to confront these threats.

Before discussing the conflicting strategies over the Red Sea, we ought to mention briefly the strategic importance of this sea so as to help us clarify why this region is perceived to be of such great importance. Geographically speaking, the east coast of Africa and the west coast of the

Arabian Peninsula border on the Red Sea. Then there is the importance of the Suez Canal as the northern entrance to the Red Sea connecting it to the Mediterranean Sea, and the Bab al-Mandab straits as the southern outlet of the Red Sea into the Indian Ocean. All this shows why the geographic situation is of such consequence, adjacent as it is to several hot spots, namely, the Middle East, the Arab world, the Gulf, the Horn of Africa (Somalia, Djibouti, and Eritrea), and the Indian Ocean.

The economic importance of the Red Sea arises from the fact that it is the vital artery for transporting petroleum from the Arabian Gulf to Europe and America, either by sea or by the SUMED [Arab Petroleum Pipelines Company] pipeline, which extends from Suez to west of Alexandria, in addition to the hidden resources, especially minerals, and the fisheries resource. Its importance is also arises from the circumstances of the states bordering on its coasts with respect to the density or sparsity of their populations, or their poverty or wealth, and the struggles of the superpowers to control them.

Because of this importance, the two superpowers wrestle with the rest of the great powers, along with Israel, in attempts to control the Red Sea, either by cooperating with some of its states, or allying themselves with certain others, or by fighting with yet others. We begin with the two superpowers, since the conflict between them to control the Red Sea has begun to intensify.

#### **American Strategy in the Red Sea**

Since the end of the sixties, American strategy has been based on maintaining its positions in the countries that border on the Indian Ocean, and which enable it to protect oil production in the region and its transport to America and to Western Europe and Japan, and to deter Soviet infiltration into Africa, as well as to protect its commercial interests and investments in these regions.

This strategy resembles the focus of Soviet policy in Africa and Asia, since the Red Sea is an element in their approach to the Indian Ocean and the encircling of the Arabian Peninsula, to be done as a first step toward their movement into the Arabian Gulf. For this reason the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, which continues despite the Geneva agreement for withdrawal from Afghanistan, was an important element in Soviet planning, complementing its plan towards the Red Sea, and all that follows from that, namely the establishment of alliances and cooperative relations with some of the countries of this region, supplying them with weapons, and obtaining important maritime facilities on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean (Ethiopia and South Yemen) in support of its principal maritime plan from the Indian Ocean to the Bab al-Mandab straits, the Red Sea, the Suez Canal, the Mediterranean Sea, and on into the Black Sea where its ports are.

From the progression of superpower strategies in the Red Sea, we see that they start with the universal strategy of each, in support of protecting their interests and the interests of their local allies. Therefore competition between them is fierce, especially with respect to oil supplies. America assures the arrival of oil to itself and its allies, and the Soviet Union, whose oil wells have begun to run dry, is urgently trying to get a share of the Arabian Gulf production to make up for the shortage that it is suffering.

Therefore the failure of American policy towards some of the Arabian Gulf countries caused the latter to hasten to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, besides Kuwait, which has had diplomatic relations with the Soviets for a long time. Likewise Qatar and the Emirates hastened to establish new relations with them, which is a gain by any standard to Soviet strategy, in comparison to a certain failure of American strategy. In addition, the expansion of military relations between Saudi Arabia and China following the medium-range missile deal has led to the exchange of trade representation between the two countries being studied. That is what points to the revolt of the Arabian Gulf states against its traditional friendship with America because of a number of factors, namely:

- Its support of and strategic alliance with the Zionist entity;
- The conflicts that are occurring over attempts to get arms, especially during the Iraq-Iran War, the best known of which was the crisis over the return of American missiles which Qatar had obtained from a third party, and its determination to boldly reject the American demand;
- The American plan with Europe and Japan to attack oil prices;
- The continuing decline in the price of the dollar, which has led to the erosion of Arab dollar wealth.

Amidst this activity in the Gulf, and in order to implement a policy to diversify arms sources, comes the making of a big arms deal between Saudi Arabia and Britain, valued at up to 10 billion pounds sterling. It includes 72 Tornado airplanes to enhance the Saudi Air Force, in addition to the establishment of military and civilian installations. The matter does not stop at military cooperation, rather it extends to the economic field with British investments in Saudi Arabia of up to a billion pound sterling. It is the deal of the century for Britain, causing an infringement upon American strategy, which has tried since the end of World War II to inherit the British empire.

Besides the strategies of each of the two superpowers, we see that the great powers are trying to have a role in this region, these countries being China, Britain, and France. The Chinese strategy concentrates on establishing cooperative technical relations by supplying experts, building roads, and supplying arms, with the aim of combatting Soviet strategy. Meanwhile Britain has rolled back its

military role in the region, and it only has left its old air base on Masirah Island, though it has begun to enter the region with arms supplies and economic projects. France has a military base in Djibouti.

Amidst these competing strategies over the Red Sea, Israel's strategy emerges urgently striving for control over this sea. By following the hostile policies of the Zionist entity we are convinced that its strategy is the most dangerous one with respect to the Red Sea, not only because it deepens the Arab-Israeli conflict, and aims at geographical expansion to the Red Sea, but also because it aims at weakening the Arab nation and dividing it geographically and politically. We will take up that subject in the next issue, God willing; God is the benefactor.

## IRAQ

### Article Claims New Democratic Reforms

44000322 Baghdad BAGHDAD OBSERVER in English  
25 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by Sa'dun M. al-Janabi: "Democracy—Further Steps Ahead"]

[Text] It is evident that in the new post-war era of peace, enhancing democratic process is most needed. The Iraqi government has been launching new steps on the way to consolidate democracy in the country through permitting the formation of new political parties and drafting a new constitution which will be put to a referendum.

Since the July 1968 Revolution in Iraq, the government has taken many important steps to establish democracy in the country following decades of despotism under former regimes. The steps taken reflect the belief of the leadership under President Saddam Husayn in the need for genuine democracy.

The way towards establishing democracy in the country has passed through many stages, starting with the election of workers' representatives in their unions and the introduction of free elections in Iraqi schools and universities. Later decisions taken by the Iraqi leadership made it free for citizens whether to join trade unions or not. This applied to all vocations.

Other steps on the way to consolidating the democratic process in the country could be seen in the introduction of complaint boards at Iraqi universities. Any student may openly criticise the university, or a teacher or the curriculum or any other aspect, by writing a signed note on the board. A special follow-up committee in-charge of supervising this process would examine the complaint raised by the students and enquire to find the appropriate solutions as regards the issue in question.

Major developments have also been seen as regards the National Assembly (Parliament) elections which started in 1980. In fact elections to the National Assembly

coincided with the eruption of war against Iranian aggression in September that year. This year further steps have been taken when a number of nominees were allowed to compete for the same seats in the forthcoming ballots, which were postponed following the ceasefire in the Iraq-Iran war on August 20 to allow more time for organisation in peace time.

Long before the establishment of the National Assembly, a National Front was formed to group a number of political parties besides the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party to discuss issues of interest and reach important decisions in a free atmosphere and democratic manner.

During the Iraqi-Iran war, almost all Iraqi people contributed to the war effort and almost all families had a son or more fighting against Iranian aggression. It was a consensus of the people to fight in defence of their country, its independence and territorial integrity. This is because the people of Iraq found in the Revolution their long-aspired principles of democracy they so much cherish and hence fight to preserve.

The latest step towards consolidating democracy in the country manifested itself in the decisions taken by the leadership earlier this month to publish complaints by citizens against civil servants in Iraqi newspapers. The new steps also allow civil servants and officials concerned to reply to criticism in the papers and defend themselves in an open manner, away from pressure.

All these measures have been taken to reinforce the concept of democracy as the most important aspect in social life and as a necessity for achieving greater development in all fields.

## ISRAEL

**Method of West Bank Education Described**  
44230037 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 13 Dec 88 p 7

[By Ya'el Fishbein]

[Text] Tziyon Ben-Kena'an principal of the comprehensive school in Or Yehuda and the past director of the Unit for Education for Democracy and Co-existence in the Ministry of Education, served a month of reserve duty as an escort for pupils in the Territories. At the end of the month, he concluded that a new trend in state education is coming into existence there, ultra-nationalist-religious, whose values are not the values of democracy, and that drafting into the IDF is not a foregone conclusion. The monologue of an educator:

There's a lot of talk about the influence of the intifadah on the soldiers, on morality, and on society, on the relations of religious and nonreligious, on the entire Land of Israel, on these or other political solutions, but one aspect has been neglected and that is the children: what is happening to the approximately 20,000 children being educated in Judaea and Samaria?

For 1 month, my job was to guard them during their daily lives, from 0700 until they went to sleep. I and my comrades were their private army. These children say "good morning" to the world through this private army, through a jeep with protective mesh and smoke grenades. We were a group of officers of rather high rank, from 1st Lieutenant to Lt Colonel, and we had to escort these children to a school that was located several kilometers from their settlement. We returned them home from school. In the afternoon we escorted them to extra-curricular activities, and when they felt like eating a pizza we escorted them to a pizzeria outside the settlement.

The procedure was like this: The escort force does not receive instructions from a military factor, but from those responsible for security in the settlements themselves, and it must follow the schedule of the settlers. If the girl pupils of the seminar at 'Ofra must go to a heated swimming pool twice a week, you report at 0600 or 0700 with the jeep in front of the bus and bring them home at 0900 or 1000. If two or three children from one class finish their studies at 1140 and need an escort from Bet-El to Dolev, you escort them. There's no point even trying to talk about economy and combining transports.

We had to go out even for absurd and insipid guard tasks, such as accompanying a few women at night to some lecture while their husbands were sleeping at home, or escorting persons invited to the dedication of a yeshiva at Shillo. All of them: from Drobles to the Minister of Religious Affairs and the Chief Rabbi, to the very last parent.

I don't in any way deny the children's right to security, but this raises in my mind severe question marks about the use of manpower on reserve duty. Somebody surrendered to the pressures of the settlers and decided to put at their disposal a private army, that they direct as they desire. I am the principal of a school in Or Yehuda. I conducted endless struggles in order to transport pupils to the extension of the school that is located 3 km from the school. Finally, they approved for me a budget only to transport pupils of the 9th grade classes, while there, in Judaea and Samaria, I was a witness to the fact that a whole fleet of buses was placed at the disposal of three or four children, both for educational activity and for every caprice. According to the transports, I saw that the children of Judaea and Samaria study more hours than the children in state education. They return home at 1430 or 1530.

But the saddest part is the children themselves, and what this is doing to them. I travelled with children from 4th and 5th grade classes and their parents to Kokhav Ya'akov. On the way, in front of the bus, two Arab children aged four or five were scuffling. One of them stumbled onto the road. The children in the bus shouted to the driver: "Run him over, he's an Arab, run him over". Another incident: I was travelling in a bus with children from grades six to eight, and an elderly Arab

was riding a bicycle in front of the bus, and again the cries: "Run him over, go over him". I couldn't control myself, and I asked them: "Why go over him? Why run him over? Why he's old enough to be your grandfather." And the reply was: "Because he's an Arab". The general atmosphere among these children is that the country is ours and that the Arab is not a human being; he is a primitive stone-thrower, who must be wiped out. Their indoctrination is complete. Discussions with them do not go beyond the Scriptures. Everything has a reference to a religious text. For every question there is a proof: "But it is written in...". I found no signs that someone holds discussions with them, that someone thinks along with them about the other side's positions. I don't believe that there is anything there that comes close to the aspirations of the Unit for Democracy.

When I ran the Unit for Democracy in the Ministry of Education, I conducted a dialogue with representatives of the state religious education. And even if it were only for show, it was not comfortable for them to strike publicly at the values of state education. In Judaea and Samaria, the messages of education for democracy are on a different wavelength. This is another education trend, which could perhaps be called "ultra-nationalist religious". In the teachers' rooms, an unequivocal line rules which leans to the right and to the extreme right. If you dare question or doubt, you are not only despicable, you are verging on treason. They are teaching that their presence in Judaea and Samaria [uses the acronym] is a mission of the highest order, and anyone who does not love the homeland, according to their interpretation, is despicable.

There is a correspondance with them between what goes on in the home and in school. They are not in any dilemma, and the soldiers who escort them all the time stand like a wall between them and reality and don't leave any chance for asking questions. Every attempt I made to get a dialogue going with them encountered slogans. I visited the home of a family of teachers in Newe Zuf. The family members were proud of the special kitchen for Passover that they had built in their house. I took the liberty to peak into the children's rooms. I saw nothing on the bookshelves that reminded me of my children's rooms. Not Devorah 'Omer [an author of literature for juveniles], not "The Little Prince", not "Winnie the Pooh." Nothing. I was in the Community Center in 'Ofra, and there, too, in the public library, I did not find any children's book outside of Jewish religious literature. Not one book that would indicate that this was not a Tora or nationalist culture center, or something between nationalist and religious.

In the settlements on the confrontation line in the north, the residents participate in guard duty, but not those in Judaea and Samaria. You see only soldiers on guard at the gate. Some of them said to me: "How can you expect us to guard here seriously when on the evening shift, when the settlers should be guarding, they barely come to guard, and this is their home?". To my surprise, the

youths that have grown up there do not think that they should be drafted into the IDF after high school. These are youths that are becoming ultra-orthodox. In discussions that I conducted with youths in the Bet-El cafe, I learned that most of them are considering deferring military service and want to study in yeshivas.

This reserve duty aroused doubts in me. Is state education nothing more than a fictitious framework that is empty of all content? The state content in education is evaporating. The educational system in Judaea and Samaria is devoid, apparently, of everything implied by the Law for State Education. In the contacts for forming a coalition government there is talk of a branch for ultra-orthodox education. Has not the time come to legitimize a process that is happening anyway in the right-wing religious part of the political map—to abolish state education and reestablish the trends in education? What is clear to me is that I am not on the same wave length with the children who are being educated in the educational system in Judaea and Samaria.

#### **Settlement, Population Trends in Gaza Discussed** *43230043 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 21 Dec 88 pp 7-8*

[Article by Dani Tzidaoni: "A Jew is Preferable to a Gentile"]

[Text] By the year 2000, there will be 30,000 Jews in the Qatif Bloc; at that time, the non-Jewish population of the Gaza Strip—if there will not be a transfer by then—will reach one million.

In the Qatif Bloc it is expected that the new government that will be established under Yitzhaq Shamir will give impetus to settlement in the Gaza Strip. On the agenda: the establishment of a vacation fishing village north of the al-Shati' refugee camp, on the northern shore of the strip; the establishment of the Pe'at Sade settlement next to Rafiah Yam, at the southern end of the strip; the establishment of Qatif "H" in the same region, and the granting of permanent settlement status to Kefar Darom and Morag. Today, about 2,600 Israelis live in the strip. The original plan of Likud, Tehiya, and the NRP [National Religious Party] is to attain a population of 30,000 Jews there by the year 2000. At that time, the non-Jewish population of the Strip - if there will not be a transfer by then - will reach one million.

Until the 15 caravans leave to mark the future settlement sites, serious halakhic [Rabbinic law] issues are engaging the residents of the bloc, such as the question from whom to buy. Rabbi Gabi Qadosh of Moshav Gansy Tal deals with this in the last issue of the settlers' journal "In One Bloc". The settler rabbi bases himself, in giving an opinion on the subject of making purchases in the bloc, which is near the three large Arab cities (Rafiah, Khan Yunus and Dayr al-Balah), on the verse from Leviticus (25:14) "If you make a sale of land, moreover, to your friend, or buy from your friend's hand, you shall not wrong one another" and on interpretations of it in the

Tora literature. The rabbi goes through them again and again, and also cites the verse from Exodus (22:24) [as published] "If you lend money to my people, to the poor among you, you are not to act as creditor to him; you shall not charge him interest" and the interpretation of the Mishna as given by Rabbi Yosef, "my people and worshippers of stars—my people first". After piles of interpretations, the rabbi from Gaza arrives at the simplest conclusion: When the prices are equal, the Israeli must be preferred to the Gentile, and the Israeli in the Qatif Bloc to the Israeli elsewhere.

All this notwithstanding, what happens when there are differences in price? Rabbi Qadosh leaves his readers the freedom to decide where to buy, as it is written "and you will do that which is right and good", every person according to his own judgement. However, the judgement is not easy, therefore, the rabbi says: "He whose eyes are open surely sees that Jewish settlement in Eretz-Yisra'el depends upon commercial and industrial life and if we, who live here, will not take this into consideration—surely his gain will be a loss and this is certainly an important part of the situation of the settlement of the country [Eretz-Yisra'el] and especially at this time. Understandably, in all of the above it is also necessary to consider additional aspects of quality of work, tax payments, buying from those who aid enemies, etc."

Menahem Bet-Halahmi serves as the manager of the department of settlement and information in the Gaza Shore Regional Council, which unites the settlements of the Qatif Bloc and the other Israeli settlements in the Strip. In his survey in "One Bloc", he does not deal with the religious aspects of settlement in the Strip. He reports that the council is preparing to build structures for singles, that will allow it to employ school pupils, NAHAL [Pioneering Combatant Youth] nuclei, and volunteers in place of the Arab laborers that were employed on the settlers' farms. Another substitute for the laborers of the strip would be the development of agromechanical systems, that would take the place of the working hands in the hothouses.

Menahem Bet-Halahmi reveals that since the intifadah [uprising] broke out in the Territories, the heads of the settlements in the strip held, both together and separately, meetings with eight heads of Arab municipalities from the region. The aim was to strengthen friendly leadership among them, that would recognize Israeli rule in the region. According to Menahem, he and his friends transmitted to the prime minister a letter from those with whom they had spoken. In the letter they expressed their desire to remain under Israeli rule (?). The interrogation mark is mine, of course, not that of Menahem Bet-Halahmi.

Meanwhile, until Israeli law is imposed on the Strip with the help of God and Shamir, a population drive will soon begin, to increase the number of Jews. Participating are

the Ministries of Construction and Housing, Labor and Welfare, and the Interior and the World Zionist Organization. It will continue for 2 months in the media and in the field.

We began with a settlement impetus and will conclude with the saving of human life. The security coordinator in the bloc, Tzvi Schwartz, begins with a verse from Psalms, "If God will not preserve a city—the guard takes care for nothing", from which it may be learned that there must be a guard and that were it not for the guarding of the Holy One, blessed be He, human guarding would not be of any use. But as there is no contradiction between the concern of a man for his livelihood and the belief that the sustenance of a man is predetermined, there is no contradiction between a man's concern for his life, by being cautious, watchful and defending himself, and the belief in God, as who does not know the explicit commandment "and you will guard your lives well"? Schwartz says all this in order to arouse the residents of the bloc, men and women over 18 years, for a 1-day course in self-defense and behavior in situations of stress and emergency, as the settlers of the strip are liable, as has already happened, to become involved in them. One who experienced this is Bat Sinay Gibli of Newe Deqalim. In the poem "An Incendiary Bottle From Up Close" she asks, "Why did this happen?" and writes that "It was terrible/to hear the explosion/and to see the flame/to hear the cries of us all/and to see the auto burn us."

## JORDAN

### Sources of Unemployment Problem, Solutions Discussed

44040148 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 6 Dec 88 p 2

[Text] Irbid (PETRA)—His Highness Prince Hasan, deputy to His Royal Highness the King, and crown prince, stated that the problem of unemployment is ideally solved by stimulating the national economy so that its different activities can absorb all citizens who are able to work, or who desire to work.

In remarks made on his behalf yesterday by Ibrahim 'Izz al-Din, the chief of the Civil Service Bureau, at the opening of a conference on unemployment and the exploitation of economic resources in Jordan, which was organized by the College of Economy and Administrative Sciences at Yarmuk University, His Highness added that the current era is characterized by suddenly occurring changes in the economic situations of all countries, be they advanced or developing countries, which frequently affect their employment markets to the extent that almost no country is free from problems related to unemployment. We in Jordan, he continued, are currently subjected to these changes, which we have been facing painstakingly and resolutely.

His highness stated that the government has recently taken a group of economic, financial, and monetary measures in order to solve the problems facing us in these areas. These measures aim to encourage the private sector to invest, and thereby assist in stimulating economic activity and creating new employment opportunities to add to the thousands of opportunities currently available, which are waiting to be filled in order to break the siege of what we have deemed proper to call attitudinal unemployment.

His highness affirmed that the government is serious about creating the appropriate environment and favorable circumstances which will encourage citizens to work and produce. He stated that this has been done by many states and numerous societies, which, through the activity of their citizens, have been able to apply a system of values which esteems work, especially manual labor, and which views agriculture and industry as the basis of growth and power for the future.

He stated that the most important element in the successful development of respect for manual labor on the part of citizens of other countries—despite the fact that many of these people have university degrees—is faith in culture as the property of the individual, who is enriched by culture, which forms a part of his essential being, not just an external aspect.

His highness advocated creating a system which respects labor, and focussing on values that embody patriotism and self-realization. He also called for an expeditious review of the different factors which cause our society to suffer from attitudinal unemployment, and which indicate the availability of employment opportunities that are nonetheless not seized because of the social stigma attached to manual labor. This matter requires a serious examination of the means by which to change social attitudes toward manual labor.

His excellency stated that we are conducting a comprehensive review of the education policy in order to improve it, and narrow the gap between the educational system and the needs of society. Concurrently, the Ministry of Education is examining the improvement of the educational process in colleges and institutions, and its compatibility with the requirements of comprehensive development. The Ministry of Labor is also striving to reorganize employment offices in order to provide information on employment opportunities in the private sector through a precise information system that matches these opportunities with employment applications. In addition, the government is undertaking intensive efforts in conjunction with a number of Arab states in order to absorb the many citizens working [abroad], especially in the fields of medicine, education, and engineering. These measures will contribute to the siege and outright war against unemployment, however we know that putting an end to this problem requires a general national effort.

In this connection, he added that he would be closely following the studies presented in the conference, and discussions taking place in the scope of the conference, in order to benefit from the serious research being undertaken to solve this problem, and to be enlightened as to the different roles of the many activities and institutions that are pursuing a solution. In this respect, it is expected that the universities will play a primary role because of their capabilities and accumulated experiences. He also affirmed that the best way to successfully meet the challenges of the era is to pursue continuous dialogue aimed at confronting these challenges, which have begun to fall upon us and cast their shadows on our society, as is the case regarding other developing societies. Therefore, it has become more important and urgent to respond expeditiously to the needs and conditions of creating a modern state.

His highness stated that a modern state is no longer solely concerned with providing security, justice, and services. Rather, its role has greatly transcended this—hence the importance of concentrating on the skillful organization of state agencies in order to facilitate their ability to comprehend and confront new developments and challenges.

Dr Fu'ad al-Shaykh Salim, vice-president of Yarmuk University, delivered some remarks at the opening of the conference. He stated that the country's economic, educational, and social achievements are miraculous, such that, by virtue of the awareness and vision of its leadership, it has been able to overcome a lack of economic resources and a shortage of capabilities, and achieve economic growth averages, which are higher than those of numerous other countries having greater ability and capabilities.

He stated that in our contemporary world of fast-moving continual change, universities are no longer concerned with teaching only, but have expanded their role to become centers for scientific research and planning for the future aimed at creating a solid research base for society. Hence, Yarmuk University has focussed its research efforts on solving the problems of society, and recommending strategies and policies that further the process of comprehensive development.

He stated that we are currently applying ourselves to researching the problem of unemployment, which is considered one of our economic problems, by having select specialists and officials undertake a probing examination of the problem in order to identify its causes and recommend solutions.

Dr 'Abd-al-Bari Durrah, dean of the College of Economy and Administrative Sciences also delivered a few introductory remarks in which he indicated that the convocation of this conference stems basically from the conviction that unemployment is a phenomenon which results from not exploiting economic resources in an

exemplary manner. Therefore, it is necessary to study the exploitation of these resources in all sectors of the national economy, and to improve the means by which they are exploited.

Participants in the conference included specialists and researchers from Jordanian universities, Baghdad University, Cairo University, and the American University in Cairo, and specialists from the Ministry of Planning, the Ministry of Labor, the Jordanian Central Bank, the Vocational Training Institute, and the Royal Scientific Society.

For two days, conference participants will be discussing working papers dealing with all aspects of the problem of unemployment, the effects of unemployment, and ways to confront unemployment through the exemplary exploitation of local economic resources. They will also make recommendations which contribute to solving this problem.

The opening of the conference was attended by the minister of labor, the governor of Irbid, the mayor of Irbid, and a number of officials from the university.

## LEBANON

### **Druze Leader Discusses Plans for Returning Christian Refugees**

44040233 Paris *AL-MUSTAQBAL* in Arabic  
4 Feb 89 pp 22-23

[Article by Nabil Khalifah: "The Lebanese Refugees: Why Is Junblatt Calling on Them To Return?"]

[Text] A number of positive signs have come to the fore recently in Lebanon. These signs have emerged as a result of intensified efforts which Lebanese, regional, and international entities have exerted with the goal of eliminating some problems in the Lebanese crisis. These signs include the Arab initiative and the seriousness, realism, and objectivity which have distinguished it to this point, through which it will be possible to reconcile various views among the Lebanese regarding the subject of the presidential elections or the subject of the desired reforms of the Lebanese system. Adding to the importance of this initiative is the Arab insistence, in the words of the prime minister of Kuwait, on the need for success and also the response on the part of Lebanese from all sides, as well as the international support the two great powers have offered, which the ambassadors of both the United States and the Soviet Union in Beirut have expressed.

At the same time, positive steps have assumed concrete form in actual conditions. These include the effort to open additional crossing points between the two halves of Beirut to facilitate the transfer of citizens, the meeting

of the deputies in Mansur Palace, and also the meeting of senior public security officials at which the issue of passports was discussed and people's views on it were brought together.

However, the most conspicuous sign of the trend toward peace lies in the initiative Mr Walid Junblatt set forth in which he called upon the Christian refugees to return to their villages in the mountains. To this end, meetings were held in the Bayt al-Din Palace. Many influential Christians participated and committees were formed to go about arranging the return of the Christian refugees beginning with three areas—Bhamdun and its surrounding areas, Dayr al-Qamar and its surrounding areas, and Dayr al-Mukhlis and its surrounding areas. This initiative has been the most important political event since the beginning of the Lebanese war in 1975 because should it succeed and continue, it will certainly mean the beginning of the end of the war and the beginning of the return of the Lebanese refugees to their areas now that the war has rendered them homeless for a long time.

What are the background elements to this initiative?

What form have the reactions to it taken, especially as far the Christian side, which is directly concerned with it, is concerned?

What are its chances for success?

Two months ago, Mr Walid Junblatt bore the banner of extremism within Premier Salim al-Huss's cabinet, calling for its expansion, the appointment of a new Army commander, and even the seizure of the Central Bank. Suddenly Mr Junblatt was calling for a Christian conference in Bayt al-Din in the al-Shuf (7 January 1989) and from there calling for the return of the mountain Christian refugees to their villages. The litany of meetings and gatherings repeated itself, the Maronite patriarchate returned to its center in Bayt al-Din, and a meeting took place between Junblatt and Dani Chamoun (head of the Liberal Nationalists' Party) in the town of Dayr al-Qamar. The initiative assumed the form of a snowball in Lebanese political circles. In the Lebanese style, people remain between the two states of believing and not believing what they see and hear. The efforts of "theoreticians" and analysts from the various sides have been focussed on the background elements to this initiative and the motives which prompted Mr Junblatt to adopt it, and thence on the goals which he hopes to realize through them. What was the Bayt al-Din meeting, at this stage specifically?

The justifications given for Mr Junblatt's initiative include the following points:

- "Partition is an impossibility and coexistence is the destiny of the Lebanese." Consequently, the national goal is "prevention of the establishment of a Christian statelet in execution of the Israeli scheme...the overthrow of the plan to expand the Christian state and

the partition of Lebanon...and the reconciliation of the Lebanese with one another."

- Junblatt explained the matter by saying, "After Gen 'Awn took power, we were afraid of the resumption of the civil war and afraid that it would be converted into a Muslim-Christian [war]. We thought that the nationalist Christians would have a role and said, 'Let Bayt al-Din take place; let us take this angle via the refugees, who are being used as merchandise by the parties which want to bestow upon them rancor toward future generations.'" Junblatt considered that the nationalist Christians were above secession and that the initiative would be the step to break through the barrier toward national reconciliation. However, in another area, Junblatt gave the reason for his initiative as "the presence of international detente, which we had been preparing ourselves to accept."
- Assertion of some facts which are to be taken for granted, including "the need to make people's loyalty be to the nation, not the faction;" "the natural, legal right of every refugee to return;" and "a renewal of the option of Lebanese national unity, proceeding from the mountains," on the basis of "creating a core of unification beginning in the mountains," considering Christian-Druze coexistence in the mountains the backbone of the Lebanese entity.
- The announced justifications for Junblatt's step include "bringing the issue of the Christian refugees out of the marketplace of auctioneering and cheating against people's interests," on grounds that they are a strike force and a group that has "been gathered into camps" in the Eastern sections. In the event this is a success, it will lead to the withdrawal of armed, dangerous, committed Christians from the resources of the Eastern section and their introduction into the Syrians' zone of influence—"which will lead to transformations inside the Eastern area and a shift in the view of the Western [section's] public opinion toward the Syrians." In this regard, observers point out that Junblatt, through his initiative, has sought to show good intentions toward the three Christian factions, the Maronites (Dayr al-Qamar and its surrounding area), the Orthodox (Bhamdun and its surrounding area), and the Catholics (Dayr al-Mukhlis and its surrounding area).
- There are people who see a reflection of conditions within the Islamic areas as well in Junblatt's step. He is aiming at "breaking out of the political stagnation which leads to fragmentation within the Islamic areas." In the purely Druze context, there are three possible potential developments:

1. Junblatt has been won over to the need to abandon the notion of the Druze statelet (the Druze canton).

2. After the experiment, he felt it was impossible for the Druze faction to endure in its isolation.

3. It would be better to anticipate things and coopt the other current within the Druze faction, which rejects the return of the Christian refugees to the mountains.

Moreover, Junblatt, through the "political intuition" he possesses, has striven, through his initiative, to solve a problem which it is still possible to solve today, before its resolution becomes out of the question in the future, because if the Christians are no longer under Junblatt's control in the mountains today, it will not be within the power of any Druze leader in the future to venture this sort of risk. Junblatt may thus be anticipating a future solution whose features have started to assume form under the effect of international pressures and wills, and Junblatt has sought to carry it out before it was imposed on him.

What may have prompted Junblatt to rush through with his position was his fear that a third party would fill the vacuum in the mountains. This would assuredly be one of two parties—the Palestinians, in the event transfers were made from the Bank and Gaza, or the Shi'ites, in the event transfers from southern Lebanon took place.

It is well known, historically, that one of the Druzes' ongoing preoccupations has been the demographic one; consequently, the Christians are the people who are the least threatening to them from this vital standpoint, in spite of the bloody disputes between them.

One must not belittle the importance of the Soviet position in this area, especially since Junblatt responds to the Soviet desire, one to which the Maronite patriarch, Nasrallah Butrus Sufayr's, visit to Moscow helped give concrete form and support, as well as to the desire of the holy see in the Kremlin—which is matched by the desire of the Kremlin [representative] at the Vatican to cool down the situation in Poland. It is no coincidence at all that the initiative on the return of the Christians to the mountains in Lebanon occurred in conjunction with the initiative to open dialogue between the Polish authorities and the Solidarity union. In a striking position he took in the presence of Mr Dani Chamoun, the Soviet consul in Beirut, (Yuri Barfiliev), expressed his country's position of total support for the return of the refugees and positive treatment of Mr Junblatt's initiative.

Therefore a comprehensive European-Vatican desire exists over the need to resolve the thorny issue of the refugees, to which one should add the desire on the part of international socialism, of which Mr Junblatt is considered to be a prominent member. It is necessary to open up toward all these forces which are internationally influential, and this opening up is connected to the treatment of the problem of the refugees in a positive sense.

Finally there are people who feel that Junblatt's announcement of the return of the refugees is in reality a declaration of the end of the Lebanese war and an appeal for peace and coexistence.

Should we seek to summarize the background elements of the initiative Mr Junblatt has ventured upon, with respect to what has been said and not said about it, we can combine them in three basic points (without reducing the importance of the justifications we mentioned above). These three are:

First, Walid Junblatt, with his intuition for history, does not want to repeat in 1989 the mistake the Druzes committed in 1860—in other words, he does not want to see the Druzes winning militarily and losing politically because they did not properly exploit their military victory. In 1860, the Druzes won militarily (with Ottoman support) but lost politically, and the provincial authority's solution turned out to be in favor of the Maronites. Today, Junblatt feels that he is not able to exploit his military victory and no one will be prepared to support him in this as long as the Christian refugees are far away from their homes and villages.

Second, this is a stage of political exploitation of the subject of the Christian refugees, since bringing them back amounts to a point of concurrence of international wills: it represents a Soviet demand and an American wish, it represents a powerful Vatican-Western European desire, and it constitutes an expression of current Syrian tactics in Lebanon.

Therefore, Junblatt hastened to visit the countries of Western Europe (Italy, the Vatican, and France) to inform officials there of his initiative vis-a-vis the Christians, and asked for moral and material support for the reconstruction of the mountains!

Third, the issue of the return of the refugees might in the current circumstances be the only entree by which it will be possible to create some kind of disruption in the "setup" of the three-sided balance in the Eastern areas, that is, Bakraki, the legitimate authorities, and the Lebanese Forces. This may have been what prompted Mr Junblatt to demand of President Franjiyah "the return of the refugees of the North whom Dr Samir Ja'ja' is making use of."

The initial reactions to Junblatt's initiative have turned out to be somewhat wary in Christian and Islamic circles alike, but influential Christian figures have started to take it more seriously with the passage of time. It was normal that the forces directly concerned with the conditions of the al-Shuf (Mr Dani Chamoun) should respond to it, as well as church circles, as they were responding to a basic desire of the holy see. Therefore, statements of support for the step came from Abbot Basil al-Hashim, head of the Maronite monastic order; Archbishop Hilw; the Middle East Council of Churches and the Orthodox leaders; headed by Patriarch Hazim.

In the political context, there was a discrepancy in the extent of support within the Lebanese Front, ranging from those supporting the step (the Liberals and the

Guardians of the Cedar) to the hesitant ones (the Phalange Party) and those harboring doubts (the Lebanese Forces), while Gen 'Awn's cabinet adopted a flexible position toward the initiative, the National Bloc supported it, and Mr Ili Hubayqah considered it a prelude to the collapse of the East Beirut alliance. Mr Husayn al-Husayni saw in it "a very important step for establishing the unity of Lebanon and the mutual existence of its people." It met with the support of the Syrian leadership (it has been mentioned that Junblatt obtained Syrian support for his initiative following a visit to Damascus but did not announce it). Supporting this was the participation of two representatives of President Franjiyah (al-Rasi and al-Khazin) at the Bayt al-Din meeting.

However, dealing with the initiative presupposes that a number of facts be taken into consideration, among them:

- The human, emotional consideration of the relationship between the people and the land, especially following the difficult conditions which the refugees are going through in their homeland, Lebanon.
- The consideration of the history of the Christians of the al-Shuf and 'Aliyah and its connection to the background elements of the Druze dominance in the mountains.
- The presence of a struggle, albeit undeclared, between the Maronite leaders representing the bourgeoisie of the mountains and the leaders of the people (the leaders of the peripheral areas) whom the war has brought to prominence.
- The existence of scores between politicians advocating principles and pragmatic politicians.
- The existence of scores (more properly, the settlement of scores) concerning the background of positions on the elections to the Presidency, which more than one Maronite leader aspires to.

The position which has not yet become adequately clarified, in spite of its importance, is that of the Lebanese Forces regarding Junblatt's initiative. Intimate sources consider that "the purpose of the Forces' questioning of Junblatt's initiative was to test the extent of seriousness of the initiative; that they are in favor of the principle of the return of every Christian and Lebanese refugee to his area and land and of his being assured of security, dignity, and rights;" and that they will not be content with that, but go further in the direction of establishing Christian-Druze understanding in the hinterland, which will constitute the primary banner for a Christian-Islamic understanding on a formula for the Lebanon of tomorrow.

In spite of all the reactions of support, especially on the Islamic side, one assumes that this initiative is to be taken with much wariness in the context of interfactional understanding in Lebanon since there are three Islamic forces (Sunnite, Shi'ite, and Druze) which are striving for a renewed understanding with the Maronites over the formula for the new Lebanon, and each of the three

hopes that it will be the basis of the structure of the Lebanese system. However, if the major factions come up with a balanced formula for a four-sided structure, as an alternative to one that is two-sided, this is the political meaning of the struggle going on at present over power, the Presidency and reform!

In brief, Mr Junblatt's initiative contains much goodwill and many positive elements and regional and international features which are coming at a stage of relative detente and promised initiatives that will permit it to proceed on its way toward success. However, the Lebanese war has taught the Lebanese that regional circumstances beyond the will of its proponents can stifle any good initiative, with the result that they will find themselves compelled to draw back from it or rise up against it when it becomes impossible for them to reconcile the interests of citizens with the interests of others!

## LIBYA

### **New Measures Aim To Promote Fishing Industry** *45040161a Tripoli AL-SHATT in Arabic 8 Nov 88 p 2*

[Text] The controversy and uproar has increased over the fact that fish is unavailable in the markets in sufficient quantities and at reasonable prices that everybody could afford. In view of the substances which fish contains, fish is an important food which involves the health of the individual and, on the other hand it reduces the rush on meat and chicken. On this basis we have proceeded for our part with a group of questions, which we took with us and put before our brother, the secretary of the people's fisheries committee of the municipality of Tripoli, who had recently been promoted to fill this position. Speaking to AL-SHATT, he said that, in spite of the lack of essential fixed bases that the fishing profession had relied upon in the past, such as the ports designated for fishing, and their associated facilities and workshops for the manufacture and maintenance of boats, as well as the lack of factories for fishing equipment, of raw materials needed for manufacturing, and of the formation of specialized human technical cadres—in spite of all that, the people's fisheries committee of the municipality of Tripoli has been able to overcome all difficulties and problems in a well-studied, practical, scientific, and modern spirit, and it has submitted these ideas to the General People's Committee to prevent opposition to the movement of developing advanced measures in the fishing trade that would meet the citizens' needs for various kinds of fish.

Our brother the secretary of the committee added that the committee was determined to undertake progressive activities within the same framework, and it has prepared practical steps for promoting the fishing industry.

A refrigerated complex has been built in Bab Ghushayr having a refrigerating storage capacity of up to about 1,000 tons. Storage, processing, and distribution in this

complex is done scientifically, and the rate of performance in the project is up to about 80 percent. A container refrigerated to 2 degrees Centigrade will also be assembled, with a holding capacity of 25 tons, as well as a freezing tunnel with a capacity of 15 tons at 30 degrees Centigrade below zero.

Two units have been built to produce crushed ice, because it is important in preserving the fish. The capacity is 5 tons a day, 8 liters a minute of sea water, and an area of 663 square meters has been designated as the area needed for the project.

Our brother the secretary of the people's committee for marine wealth in the municipality of Tripoli added that the fishing ports are of great importance, and they are the backbone of the fishing sector. "Within this context we obtained an area of the port of Shi'ab in Tripoli, and the project will be implemented with all its facilities of storehouses, freezers, and workshops, in coordination with the General Peoples Committee for Marine Wealth. In addition, the dock and lighthouse of al-Qarabulli will be studied, and needed repairs will be done on the lighthouse. Later it will be converted into a partnership and turned over to the fishermen as an incentive to them. In addition the factory of Janzur, which is considered one of the biggest tuna and sardine canning plants in the Jamahiriyah, will have the necessary repairs done on it, and after that the process of turning it over to the producers will begin to bring success to the experiment of partners and not followers of orders.

With respect to encouraging the fishing trade the secretary said that fishing equipment has been obtained in large quantities and made available in the fishermen's associations at a rate of 90 percent. Moreover, during the current year, 1988, the number of fishing boats rose from 3 in 1987 to 81 boats used for catching bluefish, a fish needed for canning operations. Four trawlers for fishing in the long way were built, while the strategic reserve in the Janzur fish canning plant reached 1000 tons, to which was added more fish obtained for processing.

He added that attention to the technical aspects of fishing is essential for its revival, so modern Libyan-Tunisian workshops for manufacturing boats have been established, and the latter helps in training national elements. In addition, a company for maintaining and equipping has been established in the municipality of al-Niqat al-Khams, and it has supervised the preparation of its cadres, the training of 10 cadres to dive for sponges, and the training of another number to dive under water. More importantly, a fishing training center has been opened to train 100 trainees over an entire year in the techniques of fishing, maritime sailing, and maintenance.

At the conclusion of his talk, the committee secretary said that the distribution centers affiliated with the fish marketing company have come to belong to individual distributors, and these unfortunately did not promptly

obtain amounts of fish at the proper time, which caused it to accumulate. One of the duties that the Home Guard is charged with is supervising pricing according to the decision of the General People's Committee; and in order to solve the problem of fish piling up, a plan was set up to cut, wrap, preserve, and freeze the large, cartilaginous fishes, and to distribute the produce to the public.

#### Figures and Statistics

The amount of jaraf (shovelhead) and lumbarah (lam-prey) caught was 1,100 tons in the period from January 1, 1988 to September 30, 1988.

Various fish of the Libyan-Tunisian company, 68,868 kg.

Total number of 125 gm sardine tins was 393,845 tins.

Total number of 200 gm tunafish cans was 930,910.

Total number of 2 kg tunafish cans was 26,635.

The total amount of bluefish caught was 800 tons from January 1, 1988 to September 30, 1988.

#### Weekly Publishes Open Letter to U.S. President Reagan

45040211 Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic  
2 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by 'Abd-al-'Ati al-Warafl: "Pharaoh Did It of Old, and He Was Among Those Who Were Drowned"]

[Text] An open letter to the President of the United States of America, Washington, United States:

A few days ago, humanity celebrated the birthday of Jesus Christ, the son of Mary, peace be upon him. On this occasion, which recurs every year, worshipers' voices rise in all the churches of the world, invoking the spirit of the creed they follow, the spirit of peace and love.

I do not think I have to refer to the Bible with you, a follower of the church, to quote texts from it that preach the need to spread the spirit of friendship and love among mankind.

"God is love," as you say.

"If any one strikes you on your left cheek, turn to him your right cheek." Nothing your Bible contains departs from this framework.

We, however, believe in what is in God's book, the Holy Koran, and must proclaim it and walk according to its guidance. It says, "But teach (thy Message): For teaching benefits the Believers" [Sura 51:55]. Since you continually proclaim that you are a believer in your creed, there is no harm in reminding you.

To begin, I would like to clarify an important point: People normally address presidents when they first assume the functions of their office, congratulating them, requesting favors, or offering them their obedience and loyalty.

However, in a part of the Arab homeland recently called Libya, but known since 1977 as the Jamahiriyah, we no longer attribute much importance to the word "president."

Even the Arab citizen Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi, who detonated the revolution, overturned the monarchy, uprooted injustice and corruption, and then abandoned the Presidency to establish history's first "state of the masses" [jamahiriyah]—we no longer apply the word "president" to this Arab citizen, because he chose the word "brother" (and we accept his choice).

For all that, here am I, an Arab citizen, writing this letter, as the American President leaves the world of politics, never to return; as he leaves the world of lights, never to return; and as he leaves the world of action and influence, never to return.

Therefore this letter will not be a letter of congratulation, nor will it be a request for favor or light. What is the value of a letter addressed to one who has left the seat of action and influence for the chair of contemplation, awaiting the inevitable end of every creature?

Mr President: I have never visited your country, and I do not regret it; but, like some members of my generation, I have read much about your country. True, in the beginning I was dazzled by what you present to us in the "information war" aimed at our minds, but I was able to surmount those dazzling lights and turn toward the truth.

I read much about the beginning of immigration to America, and I learned the size of the tragedy that began.

I read about the beginning of the society's formation, and I learned how much suffering the rightful owners of the land experienced.

I read about the Civil War, and I learned how much greed began to grow in your society.

I read about the slave trade, and I learned the size of the crime committed against those who were sold and bought in the slave markets.

I read how the delusion of power began and about how true logic has been absent since the time that Thomas Jefferson lost the Philadelphia on our shores.

I read about General Drake, symbol of adventure, in whose time people used to pour oil into wells they had dug and offer them for sale as oil fields.

I read about "the Tea Party."

Like others, I read how the Rothchild family emigrated from formerly-Great Britain to America.

I read Clemens, alias Mark Twain.

I would like to pause briefly over a story I remember by this satirical American writer. In it, as he said, he tried to portray American wit.

"While walking in one of America's cities," said Mark Twain, "I saw large crowds of people standing in front of a burning building. I made my way toward the crowd and found them looking at a man on a third-floor balcony of the building. He was calling for help. The tongues of flame were coming closer to him, but none of the bystanders seemed able to offer help.

"I advanced confidently and asked for a long rope," Mark Twain continues. "I threw the rope handily, and the man calling for help grasped it. I asked him to tie it around his waist, which he did. Then I asked him to stand on the parapet of the balcony, which is what he did.

"Then," says Mark Twain, "I pulled the rope with all my force. The man fell on the pavement. He expired, but I had saved him from burning! As I left the spot, I felt proud. I had done something remarkable.

"For me, the most important thing," says Mark Twain, "was that I had saved a man from burning."

Mr President, do you understand why I have paused over this story of American wit, as portrayed by Mark Twain?

By the way, I, like others, have read that you have laid the cornerstone of a new library named for you. I hope the writings of Mark Twain will be among its contents.

I also read the eloquent speech that a member of the independence committee gave at the time of your country's Declaration of Independence, and I learned the amount of fear your forefathers felt. Did that speech not warn you about—these are its exact words—"Jews and Zionism"?

Didn't the author of the speech say, "If the Jews enter our country, they will ruin our economy, our homeland, and our children"?

I also hope the projected Reagan Library contains the text of that speech as a historical document proclaiming an independent America and as a speech brave and clear in its warning to the American people against Jews and Zionism.

Like others, I read about Washington and Lincoln. Like others, not until now did I comprehend why Lincoln was assassinated and who plotted his assassination.

I read how you entered the circle of action on the international level. I learned the consequences of that entry and involvement, beginning with the stage of preparation during World War I, and including Hiroshima, Nagasaki, the Bay of Pigs, Vietnam, the South American banana companies, Palestine, and the chess board in Asia and Africa—one cannot list them all in an open letter to someone who I know from the media does not read a great deal, besides the fact that you are now busy arranging your new house.

But I shall try to remind you—I hope I am being clear—of things deemed indisputable.

Doubtlessly, Mr President of America, history still remembers a number of presidents of your country negatively or positively. Many of them were also able to establish their names in history books at the American and international levels either negatively or positively.

You, like the others, are trying, right up to your last moment in the Presidency, to capture as much space as possible on the pages of American and world history. No one can hold it against you.

- George Washington did the same; and he was your country's first president.
- Abraham became known as the freer of the slaves.
- Thomas Jefferson said that power is everything.
- Truman dropped two atomic bombs.
- John Kennedy tried to sail into the Bay of Pigs.
- During Nixon's administration, you raided the moon.
- Carter tried to wrest Egypt from among us, but perished in a scandal.
- Then you surveyed the scene, mounted on a donkey, the emblem of your party [as published]; and the ride was a disaster.

You sought to expand the number of historical pages relating to you.

What have you done in the world? What have you done to the world? What have you left? What space on history's pages have you been able to capture?

If only you had departed as you came!

Unlike others, I do not say, "Would you had not come!" Rather, I say, "Good that you came!"

What is strange about that, as long as the years you spent in the White House made the facts clearer and the positions firmer?

In the Reagan era, the AIDS virus began to attack the world, after having grown and matured in the laboratories of your CIA.

You tried to say that Africa was responsible for this epidemic, but we Africans asked why all the inhabitants of Africa, whom you accused of being the source of the epidemic, had not died out.

The truth became clear: Africa had no connection with an American-born and American-bred epidemic.

AIDS is an epidemic that will inevitably be mentioned in the same pages as you. In no way can the two names be separated from each other. Destiny seems intent on linking the two of you.

Also in the Reagan era, Sabra and Shatila took place. Who can separate your name from Sabra and Shatila?

You are President of a country that claims that it respects human rights and leads the Free World! Yet, by your standards, a human being in Sabra and Shatila deserves only to be shrouded in a veto on behalf of his murderers, while his murders are "free men," worthy of joining the club of the free led by your country.

But the reality that became clear to some whom your country's lights had blinded was too great to be covered by a veto.

Also in your era: You were a wise President when you sent more than 300 coffins to carry the bodies of the marines whom the land of Lebanon rejected and who paid one installment of what you owed to the Lebanon you tore asunder.

Reality revealed that America, with its missiles, aircraft carriers, spy satellites, agents, and nuclear submarines, was much weaker than a citizen and a truck. What a citizen, and what a truck!

Also in your era: More than one of your agents fell because he believed you could give him a footnote on one of history's pages. But the truth cried out in their face and in your face.

Also in your era: Heaven's wrath struck dozens of American airplanes, and they fell like autumn leaves. Poison gases escaped from a number of your factories, spreading plague and destruction, fear and death.

Also in your era: The United Nations moved from your country to be able to discuss an issue of great justice, fleeing from a thing it detested, an unjust thing called the American administration. The world learned that your country could not be a place fit for free discussion of issues.

Your achievements have been many and important:

Was it not you who added "Star Wars" to the dictionary of terror? What other gift did the earth's people need than this achievement, Star Wars?

Even worse, you approved (really, you could not help approving) Zionists as members in this project, to round out the achievement.

Reason does not rule America's power. Humanity has agreed secretly and publicly that a Zionist mind follows the pattern of an abnormal and destructive mind.

We Arabs have a proverb: "If a man's flaws can be counted, that is honor enough for him!" So I shall have to be brief and summarize the matter by saying that in your era not a single man was happy and no lips smiled in the East or in the West.

Mr President: A fellow Arab I met in Europe asked me, "Why does Reagan hate you, or why does he fear you?"

My answer was simple and immediate. I didn't call the Foreign Ministry, since in my country there is no foreign ministry. I didn't excuse myself from answering, because we are used to exercising authority. "Policy practiced in disregard of public opinion portends an increase of discontent domestically. This may be why the United States always cements its relations in the Third World with countries ruled by right-wing, authoritarian regimes. What they, like American policy, leave out of account is the effect of American domestic public opinion on foreign policy."

We in the Jamahiriya do not operate according to what America thinks best. We do not leave public opinion out of account. Quite the contrary, public opinion is what sets foreign policy in all its details through the active practice of consultation and democracy, not merely the pretense of it. Reagan therefore cannot but hate us.

Furthermore, "Wars and crises between nations do not arise merely from the existence of weapons. They arise from conflict of interests." We in the Jamahiriya are part of the Arab homeland, i.e., the Arab nation. It is self-evident that the interests of the Arab nation conflict utterly and sharply with American interests. This being so, a clash must occur.

The present clash between the two sides is a mental and cultural one. The Jamahiriya calls for the need to affirm survival with dignity upon the earth and under the sun, in accordance with realities of the Arab nation, not in accordance with other realities.

I also said to him that the Jamahiriya contains at best 3 million women, men, old people, and children. As you see, the number that America fears is not large.

The Jamahiriya is part of the Arab homeland. It belongs to or is classified within the Third World. It is trying to create its progress by various means available. Technology in my country has not yet reached the level of American technology. Thus, the Jamahiriya does not threaten America in this area.

The Jamahiriyah does not own a single aircraft carrier. It does not own a single intercontinental missile. It does not own an arsenal of nuclear, atomic, chemical, and germ weapons like America. So in this respect the Jamahiriyah constitutes no danger to America, nor does it constitute a danger to world peace, as America does.

The Jamahiriyah has never had a colonial or destructive relationship to American territory or to any other territory of the world. So American hatred for my country has no justification in this respect.

The Jamahiriyah has never taken—nor do I think it ever will take—fleets to America to threaten the safety of its territory. So American lands are not threatened by the people of the Jamahiriyah.

Mr President, do you know what that Arab brother replied? "Good," he replied, "but what do you think of the terrorism charge America is levelling against you?"

I said to him, "Do you have any precise definition of the word 'terrorism'?"

"The American administration," he said, "says that you support terrorist organizations."

"Can you specify those organizations?" I asked.

"Not completely," he said, "but Reagan is always saying so."

"Our position toward the struggle of our brothers in Palestine," I replied, "is something not open to debate. And our position on every man yearning for freedom is something we have chosen and announced for all to witness. But let me ask: If we stand on the side of liberation movements, we are described as terrorists; so if American stands on the side of the Contras and others, shouldn't she be described as we are described?"

Mr President, besides all this, now you come upon us. You have sent people to destroy our installations, but were unable to do anything. You claimed, falsely, a right to our waters, but were unable to pass by our strength. You bombed our homes and schools, but we emerged stronger than ever. You tried to starve us, but you forgot, and your CIA pretended to forget that our religion says about certain people, "You would suppose them rich because of their abstinence" [Sura 2:273].

Now you are trying to write the last line on the last page of the book of your history in a way we completely know.

But know: Those you came to attack in the Gulf of Surt are the same as those you came to attack in the stillness of night in 1986, the same as those you tried to treat as children when you decided to blockade them economically. And they are the same as those you recently announced you would come to attack in your last days. Men are men. The earth is the earth.

To quote faithfully, I must say that the above paragraph was spoken by a woman from my village who has never read a word, never visited a village other than her own, scarcely knows exactly where your country lies, and is utterly ignorant of the difference between your name and the "rayghan" so obviously abundant in our deserts and fruitful valleys.

Mr President, you start from the premise that might is right. We hold to the power of the right. As you see, the difference between us is great.

You hold to the absolute freedom of man, and that the stronger has a larger field of freedom. We hold that man's freedom is linked to his responsibility. Again, the difference between us is clear.

You believe in the inevitability of "life for the superior." We believe that life is the right of every creature.

Rather than praying to God to lighten our burdens, we pray that He will make us strong to bear all burdens.

If you lack news about us, consider the intifadah [uprising] of our brothers in Palestine and Lebanon!

Don't you see that they have been able to turn the Dimona reactor and all the weapons you possess into mere paper weapons?

But what can someone like you learn? Nothing!

In conclusion: I hope my brothers, sons of the great Arab homeland, will forgive me for talking to someone who has used every means for our destruction. I hope they do not interpret this letter of mine as a letter of affection and discussion. In truth, it is a letter of farewell to someone who alerted us to the degree of malevolence to which our Arab nation and the Islamic world are exposed, a letter from an Arab citizen of the Jamahiriyah that has deservedly gained the name of "great." Accept these words of mine, and be, as everybody knows you to be, the worst President of the worst administration in the vilest time.

God help the millions of Americans who have no home to shelter them or clothing to cover their nakedness, who sell their bodies and their blood for their daily sustenance! I pray for them whenever I pray.

Listen to what Christ said, "Come unto me, all ye who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

You, as you see, are burdened with cares.

Know, too, that the facts of history say and continue to say that growth of power unparalleled by growth of mind tends to create an unhealthy condition, leading many

people to commit extremely dangerous acts. Egypt's pharaoh did it of old. "He said, 'I am your Lord, the Most High!'" [Sura 79:24] And he was one of those who were drowned.

Now you are drowning in a sea of memories; but the peoples will endure, the Jamahiriya will endure.

## SUDAN

### Chadians Burn 11 Villages in Darfur, 15 Killed Daily

45040195B Khartoum AL-HADAF in Arabic  
24 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] Against the background of chaotic security conditions in Darfur Region, foreign militias opposed to the Chad regime burned more than 11 villages in North and South Darfur in the last few days.

Constituent Assembly Member Nur-al-Din Muhammad said that the villages burned were: (Lita), (Burukwa), (Bragwis), (Fakum), (Wadambas Fariq Zaghawah), (Samnu), Kalkal, (Hillat Yahya), (Kanigar), Dambar, and (Kurkuli). Mr Nur-al-Din accused Chadian tribes and the foreign presence in the area of carrying out these operations aimed at driving citizens from their villages, so that the villages could become a site for the ongoing international conflict. He said that more than 22 tribes had migrated from Chad to Darfur. Members of these tribes had joined Chadian factions hostile to the legitimate Chadian government factions trained in Libya and supplied with arms by Libya. These weapons had made their way to the tribes, and these forces had become able to move freely in Darfur. Mr Nur-al-Din indicated that the conflict in Darfur had become more dangerous than the ongoing war in the South. The death rate in Darfur was higher than any rate in the world, with an average of 15 killings a day, including children, women and men. The people were living through a severe winter, with temperatures falling below zero around Kutum. He said that the government was unable to relieve the citizens there and described it as having contributed to creating these problems.

He said that the deputies for Darfur were following the situation there and would work to question the government about the chaotic security conditions in the region. He begged international and charitable organizations to relieve the citizens of Darfur from these painful disasters affecting the region.

**Rebel Radio on Nimule Capture, Recent Victories**  
EA0503084989 (Clandestine) Radio of the Sudanese  
People's Liberation Army in English  
1300 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] SPLA forces of the "Bright Star" campaign yesterday, 3d March 1989, overran the strategic garrison town of Nimule on the River Nile and on the Ugandan border after only 30 minutes of fighting. The battle

started at 3:00 pm and our gallant forces were in full control of the town by 3:30 pm. It is to be recalled that the "Bright Star" campaign commander had given 72 hours warning to Farajok from 27th February 1989 and Farajok fell on 1st March 1989 within the period of warning, and on the same date, 1st March 1989, the Bright Star campaign commander gave Nimule 48 hours and Nimule fell yesterday, on 3d March 1989, within the warning period.

In this connection, the official military spokesman of the SPLA advised the besieged garrisons to take SPLA warnings very seriously and to either join the SPLA or withdraw peacefully. They should not wait for orders to withdraw. Khartoum or Juba is not fully in the picture, not conscious of the real situation of their besieged garrisons. Local commanders should make correct appreciation of the real situation and make the correct decisions. There are only two courses of action open, that is, either to join the SPLA, which is also their army fighting for freedom, democracy, equality, justice, progress and a united, greater, and proud new Sudan. If for some reason they are not convinced, the second course of action is to withdraw peacefully, since SPLA will not attack them if their withdrawal is properly coordinated with the local commander. They can, in that case, move with their individual weapons. Staying in position and fighting to the last bullet or the last sack of dura [sorghum] is not a viable option. To commit suicide is not a viable course of action, at least not to reasonable people. If Khartoum and Juba could not rescue Torit, the fourth largest garrison in the South, how can they be able to rescue any other garrison? Each commander of a besieged garrison must ask himself this concrete question and answer it himself, not wait for the usual empty promises that reinforcement or rescue is on the way.

This promise was made over Jokau, Nasir, Keyala, and Torit to name only a few, and Lieutenant Colonel Salim Said (Muhyi al-Din: captured by SPLA at Jokau, 1987) knows, this did not help them. The fall of Nimule to the SPLA yesterday has both military and symbolic value. Lots of our musicians sing the unity of Sudan from Nimule to Halfah in the far north. With Nimule now in the SPLA hands, we are left with Halfah to consummate the unity of our country and vindicate our musicians. With the fall of Nimule, the SPLA has completed the liberation of eastern Equatoria. To be consistent with this reality, Morris Lawiya should be addressed as governor of western Equatoria where Khartoum still maintains a few garrisons. It is to be recalled that in the last five weeks, from the 26th January 1989 to the 3d March 1989, the SPLA has captured Nasir, Torit, Liria, Farajok and Nimule and repulsed two large convoys, the so-called Yarmuk and the so-called al-Sayf al-Batir. The warning to all other garrisons stands. Sadiq says he is bringing tanks and artillery from abroad to fight the SPLA. These cannot possibly help the presently besieged garrisons and by the time these tanks and artillery arrive, the SPLA will get more than (50 of these). Instead Sadiq should make peace and the money meant for these tanks and artillery should be used for reconstruction.

**Party Leader Praises Egypt's Aid, Support**

NC0403143789 Cairo MENA in Arabic  
1328 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Sharif Zayn al-'Abidin al-Hindi, secretary general of the Democratic Unionist Party and leader of the unionist opposition, has praised Egypt's offer of aid to Sudan in all fields. He asserted that Sudan cannot forget Egypt's stand during the days of catastrophe and floods as well as its aid and support in all areas. He described the current tension in the relations between the two countries as a transitory summer cloud, noting that the [Nile] valley atmosphere is accustomed to the passing of such clouds.

**Government, Army Attempt To Deal With Phenomenon of 'Armed Groups'**

45000122 London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 6 Mar 89 p 4

[Excerpts] Just as happened to his brother, Democratic Unionist Party leader Muhammad 'Uthman al-Mirghani, on the eve of his trip to Ethiopia to conduct peace talks with rebel commander Garang in the middle of November, the yard of Sudanese President Ahmad al-Mirghani's house was subjected to heavy gunfire at dawn on 27 February 1989. This alarmed most of the people of the al-Mirghaniyah District in Khartoum North. [passage omitted]

News items from Khartoum noted that some members of the group that attacked Ahmad al-Mirghani's house are affiliated with the Iranian Hezbollah. This was confirmed by the accused that were arrested and was indicated by additional information which led to the arrest of other suspects that had plotted al-Mirghani's assassination.

In addition, private sources said that security forces had seized two trucks carrying weapons, explaining that the weapons were intended for the ruling party in Sudan. These sources also reported that a Libyan aircraft had landed in Khartoum and that its crew would only let the airport authorities unload its cargo under the supervision of a certain political office. The Sudanese Armed Forces surrounded the plane and forbade its crew to leave Sudan.

It is worth pointing out that, in a speech which gave a few days ago in the national intellectual seminar, al-Sadiq al-Mahdi had confirmed the existence of militias in the country which he called "armed groups." He mentioned that he would work to disband all of the armed groups, which he set apart from those in the conflict in the South, meaning Anyanya II, which he called the friendly forces. He said that he would attach these armed groups to the Army in order to get rid of "random defense."

Observers in Khartoum think that what al-Sadiq al-Mahdi said about these armed groups is incompatible with the Army's demand that all of the militias be disbanded immediately and their arms turned over to

the Armed Forces. They also think that the statements which were made by some officials in the Ummah Party, led by those of al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, about the idea of setting up a popular army in the manner of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard are a form of provocation and challenge to the Sudanese Armed Forces. Sources within the Garang movement have indicated that Anyanya II forces in southern Sudan are divided into three detachments. One detachment works for the prime minister, the second detachment works for the National Islamic Front, and the third detachment fights with the Sudanese Army. A group of Anyanya II forces have also joined the Garang movement. [passage omitted]

**Government Reaffirms Commitment to Minimum Wage**

45040191B Khartoum AL-MAYDAN in Arabic  
4 Jan 89 p 4

[Text] Mr Yusuf Abu-Shamah, secretary general of Sudan's Federation of Labor Unions, affirmed that the federation was adamant about applying the minimum wage retroactively to all workers as of last July. Mr Abu-Shamah made that statement in response to questions posed to him by AL-MAYDAN about statements made by Dr 'Umar Nur al-Da'im. Dr al-Da'im's statements were published by AL-KHARTOUM in yesterday morning's edition, the Tuesday edition of the newspaper.

Labor union official Yusuf Abu-Shamah started his conversation by explaining that the general federation's memorandum to the Council of Ministers covered the federation's basic demands. These are:

1. Raises are to be abolished.
2. The minimum wage is to be 300 pounds.
3. The minimum wage is to be applied to public as well as private sector workers.

Mr Abu-Shamah added that the federation had received a letter last 29 December which was signed by Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi himself. That letter stated the following:

"This is in reference to the meeting between our fellow ministers and the Executive Office of the Labor Federation. Because we are all concerned about the democratic system and do not wish to give anyone an opportunity to undermine the system, we declare to you:

"The government is committed to make the minimum wage applicable to public as well as private sector workers as of 1 July 1988. This is in accordance with the agreement made between the federation and the government."

Mr Abu-Shamah commented on statements made by Dr 'Umar Nur al-Da'im. He said Dr al-Da'im was trying to make excuses for employers so they would not feel that the government had placed new burdens on them. He described what was said as having nothing to do with the truth, but the prime minister's letter, which the federation has, does cover the truth.

Mr Abu-Shamah said that the demand for the minimum wage was not debatable and was irrevocable. It is also known that any change in the minimum wage in any country would legally apply to all workers in that country.

Mr Abu-Shamah asked the minister of finance, "Are private sector workers working in Sudan in accordance with Sudan's laws or not?"

Mr Abu-Shamah spoke about previous experiments to determine wages for private sector workers. He said that members of the labor federation used to sit with members of the employers' federation and with government agency officials to discuss details about wages payable to people in the upper echelons. The minimum wage, however, is a matter of national policy determined by the state and binding to all employers.

#### **Al-Turabi Discusses Arab Relations, Peace Process**

45040195C London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic  
27 Jan 89 pp 35-36

[Interview with Hasan al-Turabi, deputy prime minister, foreign minister, and NIF head by AL-HAWADITH; date and place not given]

[Text] Dr Hasan al-Turabi, deputy prime minister, foreign minister, and head of the NIF party in the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, told AL-HAWADITH that security and political conditions were now stable. The Sudan has emerged from the state of emergency that was forced upon it to confront the disturbances and crises some people fomented. "The Sudanese people have a great political, democratic, and patriotic feeling. They cling to the legitimate constitutional system, no matter how intense the economic crises may be. I affirm to you and to the world that any attempts to shake security will not succeed. Any adventurer who tries to challenge the government, army, police, and people will fail."

[AL-HAWADITH] Why did you reject the peace agreement?

[Al-Turabi] Peace is everyone's wish, but not at the expense of the Sudanese army and of Islamic shari'ah, which the people approved in recent elections as their constitution and path. By his agreement, John Garang doubtlessly wishes to hold off the Sudanese army until the coming rainy season. Then he will begin intensifying his hostile operations. He wanted to use a Sudanese party's recognition of negotiations with him in order to

realize gains, confuse the Sudan, and sow disagreements among the Sudanese. The government is now working so that security and stability will prevail in the country. It is standing up to the security challenges fomented in the South and to the economic challenges afflicting the country, especially the natural disasters—water shortage and drought, followed by too much water and floods.

The government is trying to formulate freer economic policies that will allow the forces of production in the Sudan to surge forward and interact with greater freedom from the complications of socialist policies. All this can take place only with the existence of peace throughout the country.

We have produced for them a paper entitled, "Charter of the Sudan." We spoke in it about a direct proposal rooted in Islamic jurisprudence and applied to the actual state of affairs in the Sudan. From Islamic jurisprudence we deduced a model for the division of authority and wealth and for the application of the shari'ah. We negotiated about this paper with John Garang and the neighboring African countries that support him, and they could find no fault in it. But the problem of the South can be summed up as having foreign dimensions.

[AL-HAWADITH] What are the dimensions of your foreign relations at present?

[Al-Turabi] After the uprising, some political forces in the Sudan tried to detach the Sudan from its strategic relations with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Egypt. The NIF, however, which was based from the beginning on Islamic loyalty, has been concerned with vitalizing the Sudan's bilateral relations with its neighbors, sister countries, and friendly countries.

Our relations with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia have become a primary strategic relation—as with the remaining Gulf countries. We have arrived at harmony with Libya by agreeing on certain economic and cultural matters. This is doubtlessly a step toward Arab unity. As you know, attempts at instant, revolutionary unity have proved to be a failure. We have therefore given our approval to this kind of agreement with Libya. Perhaps the prudent policies that produced the GCC model have inspired another model of Arab unity and will bring us closer to comprehensive Arab unity.

We desire to be good neighbors. I have visited Uganda for this reason and met with its president, a former colleague of John Garang. In fact, we arrived at basic principles for mutual understanding. The problem now is with Kenya. Although we have a border with the latter country, in the past we left the border strip for it to secure. However, after recent events and Kenya's position opposing the Sudanese government, I would like to send them a message of warning: Fire in the neighbor's house inevitably affects us! We desire peace and its insurance throughout the continent.

Sudanese-Ethiopian relations have seen tension and disturbance for many years due to the Sudan's having played host to a million Eritrean refugees. The Addis Ababa regime is demanding that we impose sanctions on the Eritrean refugees. It thought that we were training them to use weapons. The truth is that we have no surplus weapons to supply to others. Ethiopia has begun to understand our situation. We have been able to arrive at bilateral relations without going into the problem of Eritrea and the former imperial government of Ethiopia. Thus, we are trustees for the Eritrean revolution.

[AL-HAWADITH] Why have you, as an Islamic Front, accepted a ministerial coalition?

[Al-Turabi] The NIF was in the opposition. However, when Sudanese conditions greatly worsened and dangers threatened the Sudan, a united national front became a necessity to save the country, not just for government stability. Matters became so critical that failure of the government could have brought an end to the system, and even to the Sudan's unified existence. The dangers became very great. Thus, we chose to participate in ruling and entered the government with our program, which is distinguished, first, by defining the Sudan by its Islamic identity. It is not a matter of a criminal code, but rather of strengthening the existence of the Sudan. If we do not complete our identity by the implementation of the shari'ah, we are fearful of losing the root of the Sudan's identity, for the Sudan is threatened at root in its identity. Other countries can apply shari'ah law or not; their root, namely religion, remains. As for us, if we do not establish it in its entirety, we may lose it in its entirety. We are also trying to bring into the government incentives from a stable Islamic economic attitude. While the majority of the Sudan's people grew convinced that the old policies of economic socialism had retarded the country, but the situation kept them from changing things. We therefore came to change many of these policies and free up production and marketing, so as to release productive forces and mobilize everyone's energy to raise production. People think we want to bring religion into the economy because of the problem of usury (which is a great problem). However, we want to make transactions fair. We want people's gains to be licit and obtained through their effort, energies, and the circulation of their capital, far removed from usury and illicit gain.

It is sad that we, as possessors of a good land, have been unable to feed ourselves. What a shame for the Sudanese people to import their food from abroad! We therefore encourage production everywhere, so that we can emerge from the crisis and start a new beginning after the glorious Sudanese uprising.

[AL-HAWADITH] Have the other parties responded favorably to these policies?

[Al-Turabi] It is true that some entities and parties have become envious of our having political power added to the power of our missionary activity and organization. Political power has its effect in our country. Out of competition, they guessed that our importance would reach into many of their inherited bases; for people are turning to us, young people are turning to us, and the future, God permitting, is turning to us. Some parties had reservations, but most of the other political forces felt that without an Islamic identity the government would have no stability. True, some anti-Islamic leftist elements intensified their opposition to the government after we entered it, but they are elements blockaded in the Sudan, except for what they receive from abroad.

[AL-HAWADITH] Is the Sudan remote from the Lebanese problem? Do you support an emergency Arab summit to resolve the Lebanese problem?

[Al-Turabi] True, the Sudan is to some extent remote from Lebanon, since the Sudan is one of the Arab frontier regions. Frontiers are always subject to attacks. True, these attacks are intended for the entity as a whole, but they directly damage the frontier. As you see, the Sudan is busy with its internal wars and economic crises. Some of them are due to the shortcomings of the people of the Sudan; others are due to the action of others who want to weaken the Sudan, because a strong Sudan would have a tremendous effect on Africa. So our own problems sometimes distract us from the problems of our [Arab] nation. In particular, the large number of refugees from countries around us affects us.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do you think it is necessary to convene the Arab summit at the present time?

[Al-Turabi] We have been eager to appeal to the Arab world, but the Arab world does not come together now for anything at all. The Arab League has become paralyzed, and we suffer more from this paralysis than others do. Let the real call be for reviving the Arab League again, so that we do not leave the initiatives to others. The time has come to hold a normal summit in this atmosphere of harmony the world is witnessing, so that we make the world aware of Arab solidarity and mutual assistance.

[AL-HAWADITH] And your view of Egypt—what are its dimensions?

[Al-Turabi] We want to be linked with Egypt and Egypt to be linked with the Arab world. Egypt is an inseparable part of the Arab entity. Egypt is of concern to us in the Sudan, since Egypt is next to us. We are very eager to have it play its Arab and Islamic roles. In former times, Egypt played a large role in spreading Islamic culture. We want Egypt to regain that role, not only in the Arab world, but beyond the Arab world.

[AL-HAWADITH] Is this the approach of the present government?

[Al-Turabi] Our job is to reach all our Arab brothers. We make contact even with those who cut us off. We try to remind them of the larger interests for the sake of which people must overlook certain antagonisms and machinations, so that we can all settle on the universals.

[AL-HAWADITH] You said that the Sudan is linked to Saudi Arabia in strategic relations. What are the dimensions of these relations between the two countries?

[Al-Turabi] Under the leadership of the Custodian of the Two Holy Shrines [King Fahd], the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has always been quick to extend a helping hand to others, without publicity or expectation of return. It has contributed to all international cooperation programs and has given special assistance to the Islamic countries. This has made the kingdom the greatest factor for Islamic solidarity. It has led this solidarity in its capacity as caretaker of the Two Holy Shrines and legitimate example for the Islamic world. It has given embodiment to this solidarity in political support for issues affecting Islamic destiny, particularly the Palestinian and Afghan issues. It has given generous material assistance to brothers in various parts of the Islamic world.

Throughout the illustrious Saudi dynasty, the kingdom has continued to give uninterruptedly to the Sudan through various regimes, although, in accordance with its customary modesty, Saudi Arabia has not publicized this giving, its practice being not to create a sense of obligation to return the favor or to cause grief. Some of this giving has been private; some has been government-to-government. The most recent Saudi aid had a different significance and therefore a different effect. This aid was collected in Riyadh through a campaign led by the Custodian of the Two Holy Shrines himself. Dignitaries and ordinary people responded to the campaign, and it became a movement of the entire people. King Fahd began it with a generous contribution from his private purse out of love and esteem for the Sudanese people, who returned his love and gift from their heart. Saudi giving went beyond official agencies to reach individuals of the Sudanese people person by person. Its significance was that it was an initiative for Muslim to relieve his brother and for cooperation between Muslims in a manner unmatched in modern history. Muslims had forgotten the meaning of collective relief. When drought struck us in the past, aid used to come to us from the West; thanks to Fahd's existence, it now comes from the Arabs. Saudi airplanes arrived uninterruptedly in the Sudan, bringing relief the world had never seen before, and shaming the West, which talked about it in its media with envy and embarrassment. Saudi relief reached the South. We Sudanese did not restrict it to ourselves; we transported it to the rebels who were damaged by the flood. The meaning of this is that a new spirit has begun for true solidarity, not at the level of political activity, but at the level of direct people's activity. This is just as happened with the movement of overseas Sudanese, who

entered into Saudi life and formed a web of people-to-people relations that had a wide-ranging cultural connection in the movement of the two fraternal peoples.

Muslims east and west appreciate the kingdom's care and custodianship of the Two Holy Shrines. They thank the Custodian of the Two Holy Shrines for his successful efforts in the service of Islam and Muslims.

#### **NIF Youth, Elders Differ on Membership in Government**

45040195A Khartoum AL-ASHIQQA in Arabic  
17 Jan 89 pp 8-10

[Article by 'Isam Mahjub al-Mahi: "The Right Showed Its Muscles and al-Sadiq al-Mahdi Decided To Give It a Share in Governing. The Left Bared Its Teeth and the Prime Minister Decided To Confront It"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

#### **Between Youth and Elders**

A discussion with the youth of the National Islamic Front [NIF] reveals many facts. They differ from NIF elders in their analysis of motives for participation in the government, any government. NIF elders may have had reasons impelling and forcing them to participate in the government, reasons which may have been difficult to mention to the youth. NIF youth may have thought that their only option was patience and persistence, so as to put through their program some day. However, the elders are people who know full well how one extends the organization's body, what profit can be gained from the organizations's being in the government, any government, what return is to be gained from participation in the government, and the tools it would afford them, by a small change of tactics (not strategy) in the rules of power. Nevertheless, the NIF's youth think that power and its distractions can impede organizational steps and the setting of a different path that profits from the failures of others. One of them even stated that al-Turabi's defeat in the elections brought great gain for the NIF: on the one hand, an irreplaceable opportunity had presented itself for NIF members of parliament to practice and perform well, since Dr al-Turabi would have put the lid on them; on the other hand Dr al-Turabi was able to set out and open for the NIF broader horizons that would have remained closed by his preoccupation with the Constituent Assembly. Despite all this, the NIF elders who hanker for ministerial and government seats have not cease to long for them. They certainly know what they are not saying. They are well aware of the facts about the 7 years they spent in the bosom of the May regime. They endured the regime patiently, while it discredited Islam by making examples of its opponents. They did not protest. They were patient with Numayri, swearing allegiance to him as "Imam of the Muslims,"—and all for reasons that they achieved with unequalled success. The youth of the NIF want all power tomorrow; the NIF elders would like some of it today!

Discussion with NIF elders always begins and ends with the government, national or coalition. As for discussion with NIF youth, the issue is delineated by slogans and sectarianism on the right and by compensations on the left; between the two there is heated debate about John Garang and Salih al-Khayr.

What we have said above may answer the question of why the NIF joined in the government and why it has not left. It may be an indicator for deducing its future leaving or staying. [passage omitted]

**'Rumors,' Comments on Numayri in Cairo**  
*45040194 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic*  
*1 Feb 89 pp 13-17*

[Article by 'Abd-al-Latif al-Manawi: "Cover Story: What Is Life Like in Cairo for Political Refugee Number 2103? Numayri: No News of Him in Egyptian Media, But Rumors About Him in Opposition Newspapers"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Circumstances surrounding and accompanying the recent attempted coup in Sudan early last December led Sudan's security authorities to arrest 16 civilians and a number of military men on suspicion of involvement in this attempted coup. These people were considered participants in a military plot to overthrow the present regime in Sudan. Although no details were released about the investigations, which were conducted by the military men, Sudanese authorities released the civilians.

In connection with the recent attempted coup, observers noted the emergence of former president Ja'far Numayri's name and the names of some of his aides, who were thought by Sudanese authorities to be plotting a coup. But the secretary general of the Islamic Front, Dr Hasan al-Turabi, the minister of justice, indicated that no attempt had actually been made to bring Numayri back or to restore his aides or his regime to power. Al-Turabi made that statement after the turbulence which had followed the attempted coup subsided. Speaking to AL-MAJALLAH Al-Turabi added, "It is dangerous just to talk about this matter because some suspicious elements may be led to believe that they can pull off something like that which is opposed by all domestic and outside groups."

Some members of the Executive Office of Sudan's Bar Association told AL-MAJALLAH that this was not a matter of Numayri wanting to return to power or even to Sudan and that it had nothing to do with whether he could return. "The fact of the matter is that from a legal standpoint, Numayri is still wanted by Sudanese justice because he committed criminal, civilian, and political violations." Egypt's courts have an open file on him. The Sudanese Bar Association will not give up its demand that he be put on trial and held accountable for the destruction which he caused to the various aspects of public political life during his 16 years in office.

The views held on this case by officials of active political parties in Sudan are similar to those held by the Bar Association. When contacted by AL-MAJALLAH, Mr Muhammad Tawfiq Ahmad, member of the Political Bureau of the Democratic Union Party and former minister of information, culture, and foreign affairs, said, "Ja'far Numayri cannot return to power because the people of Sudan cannot forget the tragic legacy he left behind. I believe that some adventurer may carry out a military coup and may bring into power a few people who are known to be loyal to Numayri. But I do not believe that he would go to Numayri and bring him back to power. Everything that is being said about this matter is just rumor."

Vice president of the Ummah Party Nasr-al-Din al-Hadi al-Mahdi said, "There are many rumors about Numayri, but there is no chance at all that he will return to power."

**Rumors and Facts**

Mention of Numayri's name in news about coups d'etat and in the headlines of Sudan's and other countries' newspapers is not limited to the recent attempted coup. Ever since it was decided that Numayri would be living in Cairo as political refugee No 2103, rumors and sensational news have been dogging him. It was reported that he was ill; that he was a magalomaniac; and that he wears his military uniform every day and receives visitors as though he were still performing the duties of Sudan's president. It was also reported that a private airplane flies out of Sudan every week to bring Numayri dishes and foods he was accustomed to eating when he was in Sudan. Every now and then it is rumored that he left Cairo and went to another Arab country for treatment or that he will go to Pakistan. It is also rumored that he is engaged in political activities and that he receives Sudanese citizens and hosts banquets for them.

The latest rumor, which surfaced last week, was reported by SUDAN NEWS AGENCY in Cairo. The agency reported that the former president had been admitted to a mental health facility suffering from a severe and critical emotional condition. The news agency reported that a medical report had attributed Numayri's serious condition to the fact that he had contracted syphilis. The news report mentioned that Egyptian security agencies had taken strict security measures at the health facility where Numayri was being treated and that he was being held incommunicado. [passage omitted]

**Egyptian Endeavors**

Egyptian political circles are saying that the association of Numayri's name with the recent attempted coup in Sudan induced Egypt to double its efforts to ensure that he does not become engaged in any political activities. These political officials are saying that the Egyptian Government intensified its efforts to prevent the former president from having any contact with any but a very small group of Sudanese citizens, and such contact was

made under their supervision. Numayri was also barred from any activity which might be deemed political or construed as having any political significance. He was also barred from making any statements to the press or contacting anyone in the media.

Observers think that Numayri can do nothing in Cairo but sit on the veranda of the home which overlooks one of Misr al-Jadidah's main streets. Then he can go to his office in the evening and continue working on his memoirs. Those close to Numayri say that the memoirs will be an important part of Sudan's history because Numayri will reveal in them the relationships of all those who worked with him. He will also reveal secrets of the period during which he ruled, and [secrets behind] the changes which occurred during that period. [passage omitted]

### Numayri and the Courts

News which the Egyptian press reports about Numayri comes from Khartoum and is limited to reports dealing with measures taken by the Sudanese Government against Numayri's property or the property of his supporters. The most recent news report, which was published last September in AL-AKHBAR, dealt with the creation of a special committee to sell the contents of Numayri's household. It seems, therefore, that Egypt's official media are making an effort to avoid dealing with the subject of Numayri unless they do so in an official report or they report news relayed from Sudan. Egypt's opposition newspapers, however, seem to be intent on following everything that has to do with the man, including rumors about him. If he is seen driving a car on a street or if he is seen shopping somewhere, one of the opposition newspapers would report that. If a Sudanese citizen said that Numayri was suffering from a physical disease or a nervous disorder, a newspaper would come out with that report. [passage omitted]

It is worth noting that approximately 2 years ago Egyptian President Husni Mubarak stated that his government would not turn Numayri over to the Government of Sudan because doing that would contradict Egypt's values, fundamental principles, and traditions. No Egyptian Government has ever turned over any political refugee to his government. At that time Mubarak said that it was Lt Gen 'Abd-al-Rahman Siwar al-Dhahab, former president of the Interim Military Council, who had asked him to keep Numayri in Egypt and prevent him from returning to Khartoum. A Sudanese official confirmed that fact when he told the Sudanese newspaper, AL-MAYDAN, that Mubarak had offered to turn Numayri over to the interim government in Sudan three times, but that the government had turned down his offer.

Ja'far Numayri is being supported by the Egyptian Government. Statements in the press recently attributed to him indicate that. Numayri receives no steady income from Sudan or anywhere else. This information became

available when he answered the charge made against him of having average monthly expenses that amounted to \$10 million. In defending himself on that point Numayri added that some of his acquaintances and friends offer him help every now and then. According to him, this kind of assistance enables him and his wife to make ends meet. [passage omitted]

### Authorities Assess Problems for Sorghum Harvest *45040191A Khartoum AL-USBU' in Arabic* 24 Dec 88 p 6

[By Sabri al-Shafi']

[Text] The situation with the harvest is a grave one. It is so grave that food security is being threatened not only this year, but also in future years. AL-USBU's tour of sorghum production areas in al-Qadarif stunned us. We saw vast areas of land which were planted with sorghum, but since no one has been able to harvest the crop, the sorghum was lying on the ground and threatened by white ants.

The half a million workers are needed now to harvest the crop, but only a few hundred have been sent from the migrants' camps to the areas of production. At the same time, refugees are not willing to harvest the crop; only a few of them have responded.

Approximately 25 to 30 percent of the country's total sorghum production has been harvested. The remaining 70 percent of the crop could be ruined by rainfall or devoured by white ants, and some of it might also be salvaged before time runs out.

Last September, the Regional Association of Kassala-al-Qadarif Farmers sent a memorandum to the prime minister asking the government to make appropriate preparations to set up conditions that would attract workers for the harvesting process. The farmers also asked the government to provide harvesters. But the government was slow to react, taking action only when danger became imminent and food security was threatened. Food security will probably be in jeopardy for years to come.

### White Ants and Cattle Herders

We met Mr 'Adil Muhammad Salih, an agricultural engineer in South Fong Agricultural Company. Mr Salih warned that if the sorghum harvest is not completed, delaying the harvest will endanger the crop.

"The rainy season will ruin the crop. In addition, the crop has dried out and fallen to the ground because it was unharvested for a long time after it had ripened. White ants also pose a threat to the crop." Mr Salih warned that cattle herders could come into the areas of production, and that would destroy the crop.

### The Refugee Crisis

Engineer 'Adil Muhammad Salih had this to say about the reasons for the labor shortage. "The labor shortage problem is due to the fact that a large number of workers are employed in sugar projects. We could have hired refugees to harvest the crop, but the flow of refugees into the country has been stopped. As far as Sudanese workers are concerned, small farmers in Sudan have enough sorghum in storage because they had planted crops in their communities. They are self-sufficient and do not need to work in the harvest."

### 64 Out of 640

Eng Salih went on to say, "The figures indicate that the labor shortage is tremendous. We cultivated 16 projects, and harvesting the the sorghum crop in these projects requires 640 workers, but we actually have only 64."

### Sorghum Is Impractical

At the Sesame Experimental Farm we met with Mr 'Ala'-al-Din Muhammad al-Husayn, the farm director, who spoke about the reasons for the labor shortage. Mr al-Husayn said, "Most farmers in the area grow traditional varieties of sorghum which do not grow to a uniform height. That makes using harvesters to harvest the crop impossible. We had a good season this year, and large areas of land were cultivated, but a large number of agricultural workers is required to harvest the crop."

"Migration from rural to urban areas and the lack of provisions to encourage agricultural workers to harvest the crop aggravated this problem. The crop is also endangered by cattle herders coming from the southern areas who start arriving into the cultivated areas in late February or early March."

We asked Mr 'Ala'-al-Din Muhammad al-Husayn about coordination efforts with the Supreme Harvest Committee. He said the committee had not come to them at the production sites.

Then we met with Dr (Heard), project director for the project's Canadian team, who said, "The purpose of this project, which was established in accordance with an agreement between the government of Sudan and the government of Canada, is to find the potential for cultivating vast areas of dry land. We are now trying to experiment with agricultural equipment to determine which of this equipment would be most suitable for agriculture in Sudan and most economical for the farmer. However, we have not yet reached any final conclusion on that."

"The fact that machines are not used in agriculture is one of the harvesting problems you have. Using machines in agriculture would reduce production costs."

We also met with Engineer Mustafa Muhammad 'Ali, director of the Sudanese team working on the project. Engineer 'Ali said, "Agricultural problems, including the harvesting problem, can be solved by automating the entire agricultural process. The high cost of agricultural machinery and tools would be countered by the reduced cost of production. Equipment from Germany has arrived in Sudan, and with this equipment traditional varieties of sorghum which do not grow to uniform levels can be harvested. This equipment is different from the equipment which comes from Canada and which harvests the improved sorghum that grows to a uniform height."

### Cash for Header Harvesters

In the course of its tour AL-USBU met with Mr Ahmad Fadil Sa'd, president of the Regional Association of Kassala Province Farmers, who attributed the crisis to the density of the crop.

Mr Sa'd said, "This year's production has not been equaled in 10 years. People who are in charge of these projects had come to Khartoum to reach an agreement with migrant workers who were to be hired for the harvesting process. In 3 months they recruited only 700 workers. Although 80 workers are required to harvest the crop in one project, only 40 workers are available for each project. And yet, the agricultural area where the crop is being harvested represents only 3 percent of the total cultivated area. Let me say a word of warning: if the harvesting process is not completed by the first of May, the crop will be threatened by rainfall. A machine, which is called a header, can harvest sorghum of different heights and can be imported. I can affirm that if this machine were available, farmers can pay cash for it."

### The Government's Responsibility

Mr Ahmad Muhammad Nur, the association's secretary, holds the government responsible for the harvesting problem. He says, "Since the rains started falling, farmers have known for certain that the agricultural season would be a good one. That is why the Association of Farmers appealed to the government and asked it to make preparations for the agricultural season." Mr Nur showed us a memorandum which the association had sent to the prime minister, asking the government to make preparations for the agricultural season, which includes harvesting the crop, and to provide provisions and harvesters. The association's secretary said the memorandum was sent in September. He expressed his surprise that the government was slow in responding to the memorandum.

### Migrants Abstain From Work

Mr Nur spoke about the efforts made by farmers to provide labor. He said that farmers had contacted the migrant workers' representative and had reached an agreement to recruit migrant workers and send them to

the areas of production. He said that a delegation from the association came to Khartoum where they met with the administrative officer, who had been sent by the governorate to send the migrant workers to the areas of production, but that officer told them that he had been able to recruit 154 workers only.

#### 70 Percent Not Yet Harvested

In the course of its tour, AL-USBU met with Mr Muhammad 'Uthman 'Ali al-Hajj, deputy governor of Kassala Province, who had this to say about the reasons for the harvesting problem. "It is known that the fall season this year was a good one. The cultivated area was doubled. Therefore, a large number of agricultural workers was required to harvest the crop. We actually need half a million workers to do the job." Then he added, "Although agricultural workers have been asking for high wages, the increase in wages did not attract a sufficient number of workers. Only between 25 and 30 percent of the crop was actually harvested, but the remaining 70 percent has not yet been harvested."

#### Header Harvesters Before It Is Too Late

Mr al-Hajj indicated that the former minister of state for agriculture had come to al-Qadarif, where he made contacts which led to the introduction of headers, so that harvesters could harvest the traditional sorghum, which is of uneven length. He said that headers had been used on a trial basis in the (Kishmik) area for this year's harvest, and that the experiment was successful.

Regarding the universal use of headers in the harvesting process this year, Mr al-Hajj said, "This device will not be in universal use this year, but it can be in future seasons."

#### Other Reasons

Regarding efforts that have been made to bring migrants from Khartoum to al-Qadarif, Mr al-Hajj said, "Local agencies worked with the Ministry of Social Care and Migrants' Affairs and coordinated efforts with it to bring the migrants, especially those from the southern province, to the areas of production to harvest the crop. A delegation from (al-Salatin), accompanied by an assistant representative, actually came to al-Qadarif to coordinate these efforts with us and to bring in the migrant workers from the south to al-Qadarif. Certain regulations were to be followed to guarantee their return with lucrative wages."

Mr al-Hajj went on to say, "We contacted the Ministry of Social Care after that, and a few farmers who are in charge of projects came to Khartoum and sent a number of migrant workers to the areas of production." He added, "An agreement was reached to send the first group of workers, 40,000 of them, to the areas of

production, but that agreement was not carried out in the required manner, perhaps because the migrants were apprehensive about the area or, perhaps, there were other reasons."

#### Real Danger

The deputy governor confirms that delaying the harvesting process will endanger the crop. He mentioned that the arrival of the fall season and the rainfall will result in the destruction of the crop. Another threat to the crop manifests itself in the cattle herders who come into the areas of production.

#### Invoking the Emergency Law

We confronted the deputy governor with the frightening reality we had observed at the production sites. We asked him about the possibility of invoking the emergency law to provide labor.

He said, "Invoking the emergency code requires that the danger actually be imminent." We told him that our observations indicated that the danger was actually imminent. We told him we had toured production sites and that we had seen only a small number of workers engaged in the harvesting operation. He said that the government's present actions to recruit workers could be followed by imposing a state of emergency to avoid the anticipated disaster.

#### An Appeal

The deputy governor indicated that, according to official estimates, the crop which has been produced is quite large. He said that self-sufficiency was guaranteed, and he indicated that we would also be able to export large amounts of sorghum.

He also appealed to all citizens and all associations, trade unions, and organizations to participate in providing labor. He asked them all to participate in the harvesting process.

#### Media Uproar in Khartoum

At the al-Rahad Agricultural Organization we met with Mr Ibrahim Muhammad Ibrahim, chairman of the board of directors and executive director of the al-Rahad Agricultural Project, who said, "The status of the harvest in the al-Rahad Project is reassuring. Management has recruited all area residents, and schools have been closed so that students can be employed in the harvesting process. In addition, migrant workers as well as refugees have been employed."

When asked about the Supreme Committee for the Harvest, he indicated that no one in the organization had seen the committee at the production sites. He said that what the committee says and does was nothing more than propaganda whose effects did not extend beyond the nation's capital.

**Union Memo Counts 20,000 Millionaires,  
Condemns Corruption**

*45040191C Khartoum AL-AYYAM in Arabic  
24 Jan 89 p 4*

[By 'Ali al-Zubayr]

[Text] The memorandum on alternatives to the minimum wage and ending wage and salary discrepancies, which was prepared by the executive office of the Association of Tradesmen and Professionals, included several alternatives and sound solutions. If officials in the executive branch were to implement them, they would get rid of many maladies the ailing Sudanese economy is suffering from, and they would not have to resort to erroneous solutions which hurt the interests of the powerless majority.

The government has concrete evidence that the improvised decisions on which its projections were based were wrong. Had these decisions been carried out, they would have led the country and the ailing economy into further deterioration and decline.

One of the most important solutions proposed in that regard by the memorandum from tradesmen and professionals is an immediate end to the war. The end, we cannot use the oil we have, we cannot establish ties between expatriates and their country, we cannot deal with the foreign debt, and we cannot rebuild different projects. What is curious is that at a recent press conference held on 17 January 1989, the prime minister spoke about priorities in the same sequence. There was one slight difference, however: ending the war came at the end of his list of priorities. Needless to say, losses in life and property which are caused by the war would make it impossible for anyone to implement any of these priorities, no matter how over-optimistic or over-imaginative we may be.

Among the matters the memorandum dealt with was one of great importance and consequence. It has to do with the corruption which has become rampant under the present democratic administration. This corruption, which has become the topic of conversation at people's public and private gatherings, is just like the corruption which prevailed during the days of the bygone May regime. Under the May regime, supporters and aides plundered vast amounts of the people's property.

The memorandum also requested that no action be taken on Article 215, which allows the district attorney to stop trial procedures in cases where public property is involved. The memorandum asked that matters dealing with such trials be left to the courts of justice since they are the only entities which people trust. Everyone has confidence in their judgment.

There is no doubt that large amounts of money were stolen and are being stolen from the state treasury. If these stolen funds were to be recovered from the thieves,

they would add up to many times more the amounts which officials wanted to deduct from the earnings of poor people and people living on fixed incomes.

One of the most striking ironies mentioned by the memorandum, which was prepared by tradesmen and professionals, is the number of millionaires in Sudan. In a nation whose population is not much more than 20 million persons, it is estimated that the number of millionaires is approximately 20,000. It is sad that the country is not benefiting at all from these millions which are being amassed by these millionaires. If high taxes were collected from them, for example, as they would be from their counterparts in many countries of the world, the public treasury would be filled to overflowing. If all or some of these alternatives and solutions were to be applied, the situation would change and the Sudanese economy would regain much of its health and lost vigor. However, other alternatives which pursue a different approach are nothing more than a new addition to the series of cruel trials and tribulations to which the masses have succumbed.

**PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC  
OF YEMEN**

**Deputy Minister Discusses Industry, Trade  
Relations**

*44040216 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic  
10 Jan 89 pp 34, 35*

[Interview with Hasan Habish, deputy minister of industry, trade, and supply for trade affairs: "Deputy Minister of Industry, Trade, and Supply in Aden Says, 'Remittances From Expatriates Are Biggest Source of Income; Our Exports, Not Including Oil Products, Amounted to \$20 Million; Tobacco, Honey, Fish Are Our Primary Exports'"—in Aden, date not given]

[Text] Mr Hasan Habish, deputy minister of industry, trade, and supply for trade affairs in Democratic Yemen said that besides remittances from expatriates, Yemen has several sources from which it receives foreign currency. He said the country's volume of imports depends upon the amount of foreign currency available. The deputy minister revealed a plan to set up in the near future two companies specializing in importing foods and machinery. He said that in compliance with the terms of its loan and in an effort to keep consumer prices low, South Yemen was limited to certain countries from whom it could import some equipment. Mr Habish talked about the volume of local production, indicating that Yemen had started exporting some goods in addition to those which it has been known to export in the past. He said that exports of Yemen's famous al-Daw'ani honey, produced by the private sector, yielded \$6 million last year.

Details of the interview follow.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Are there specific countries from which you import what you need?

[Habish] We import from all countries of the world. The import program is approved by the Supreme People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers. This approval is based on requests submitted by ministries to import goods that are required for consumer and investment purposes. The amount of foreign currency available determines how much we can import.

[AL-MAJALLAH] What are the sources of the foreign currency which is received by Democratic Yemen, and what are the circumstances that have an effect on the amount of foreign currency received?

[Habish] There are several vital facilities which provide Democratic Yemen with hard currency. The port of Aden, for example, the Aden Oil Refinery, banks, insurance companies, trade companies which offer services to foreigners, and airlines provide Yemen with hard currency. In addition, we receive hard currency for our exports and from remittances from expatriates abroad. These remittances are Yemen's largest source of hard currency. But the volume of these remittances is affected by the circumstances of the country where these expatriates live, and returns from exports are affected by Yemen's ability to export. Everyone is also affected by fluctuations in exchange rates.

The volume of imports is determined by how much hard currency we have. Then, import companies, which are public sector companies, import the goods. These companies are the National Foreign Trade Company, the Public Organization for Buying and Selling Construction Materials, the Domestic Trade Company, the Public Organization for Textiles and Electricity, the Public Organization for Meat, and the al-Nasr Free Trade Company. All these companies are subordinate to their own ministries, and each company specializes in importing certain materials. There is a plan to establish two companies: the first company is to specialize in importing food, and the other will import machinery. The two companies, both of which will be private sector companies, will be established early this year.

Oil and oil products imports are handled by the National Oil Company, and medicine imports are handled by the National Pharmaceutical Company. Besides, there are other organizations specializing in agriculture, and there is one organization for [importing] fruits and vegetables. All these organizations are subordinate to the Ministry of Trade which gives them import licenses in accordance with an import program which also includes running the facilities. Goods are imported after notices to bidders are submitted and advertisements to that effect are placed in the country and abroad. After the bids are received, the most appropriate one is preferred and selected.

### The Appropriate Import Bid

[AL-MAJALLAH] If there was little or no difference in price and quality between two bids to import a commodity, but if one of them came from a foreign country and the other from an Arab one, is any effort made to award the bid to the Arab merchant?

[Habish] Our needs are clearly defined, and most of what we need comes from internationally known sources since what we need is difficult to produce in the Arab homeland. And yet, of course, we give preference to an Arab country if it has the commodity that is required. For example, fruits are imported from Arab countries. We import citrus fruits from the West Bank; the fruits are transported by trucks through Jordan. Sometimes, we import citrus fruits from Egypt and Tunisia, but the bulk of our imports comes from the West, the Far East, and Europe. At the present time we are trying to expand our relations with socialist countries, including China. That is why our imports are not tied to a specific country. Preference is given to the bid which suits us.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Yemen is a borrower country. Sometimes, a lending state or organization, which extends a loan to Yemen, will stipulate that Yemen import goods from it. What do you do in such a situation?

[Habish] We borrow for development purposes only, and we adhere to the loan terms which are set by the lenders. For example, if France extends a loan to us, it stipulates that we import equipment from it. Then, French companies are the only ones to submit bids, and we import from France the equipment we need on the basis of the best French bids. Organizations such as the Arab Development Fund and the World Bank stipulate that we import the required equipment or the goods we need from the countries which are members of these organizations, and we abide by these conditions. That in itself determines part of what we import. The price of a given commodity also plays a part in determining the country from which we will import that commodity. For example, we do not even think of importing clothing from Europe because of high prices. We prefer to import clothing which is manufactured in countries that are less expensive.

[AL-MAJALLAH] How do you determine priorities as to what materials are to be imported?

[Habish] For consumer goods we take into consideration this order of priorities: food, fuel, and medicine. We have another scale of priorities, on a par with that of consumer goods, which we use to determine priorities for the goods we import for investment and production purposes. These are, in order of priority: the necessary technology; production materials; raw materials, such as fertilizers and seeds; cans for canned goods; and, finally, spare parts.

We determine how much of these principal commodities we need to import, and what is left is hardly enough to diversify our imports. But we consider other goods to be secondary, compared with those on the aforementioned list. That is why when it comes to cultural things, we import very few foreign newspapers and magazines, and what we import is sold quickly. It is difficult to diversify our imports because such diversification would be done at the expense of meeting basic needs.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Did the volume and nature of Yemen's production undergo any change? Did Yemen achieve self-sufficiency in the production of some goods?

[Habish] We started producing some consumer goods locally, like eggs, potatoes, cigarettes, beer, a few items of clothing, and many kinds of fruits and vegetables. At the present time we import small amounts of these materials to supplement our annual consumption requirements: we import what we would consume in 1 or 2 months per year. This year we started exporting some foods, such as garlic and onions. We also started exporting rubber slippers, cigarettes, and carpets to the northern part of our country. We export fish, of course, and the fish we export is dried, canned or frozen. We are concentrating on exporting expensive fish such as lobster, shrimp, shark, kettelfish, kingfish and tuna.

Yemen's famous al-Daw'ani honey needs no further identification. It is sold at very high prices. One kilogram of honey with honeycomb can be sold for as much as 60 Yemeni dinars, that is, approximately \$180. Returns from honey exports last year were approximately \$6 million. We are encouraging beekeepers and those interested in honey production to increase production. The entire honey business is in the private sector, but it is the Ministry of Trade that issues export permits and keeps track of how much honey is exported. Tobacco and cotton also yield a good profit. Last year we exported \$9 million of tobacco and \$6 million of cotton. Returns from total cotton, honey, tobacco, and fish exports amounted to \$20 million. That does not include the oil products we export. We also started producing asphalt, and we are now exporting it to neighboring countries. We are also looking for other markets for our asphalt. We have a surplus of marine table salt, which is ready for export and we are looking for markets for it.

#### **Marketing and the Role of Expatriates**

[AL-MAJALLAH] Have you prepared a staff of people to do the job of promoting Yemen's exports and finding markets for them?

[Habish] Yemeni immigrants help us find other markets for our exports. They either assume responsibility for marketing our exports, or they get involved in closing the deal. In the country marketing is done through three channels: the public sector (state institutions); the cooperative sector; and the private sector.

Then there are production and marketing organizations which are owned jointly by the state and by the cooperative or private sector. One example is the paint factory in which the state holds a 51 percent interest and individuals hold 49 percent.

#### **Trade Between the Two Yemens**

[AL-MAJALLAH] How is the trade business between the two parts of Yemen?

[Habish] Trade between the two parts of Yemen is not subject to any restrictions. It is conducted with considerable ease and facility, and goods are exempted from taxes and fees. Products from the North, especially fruits and vegetables in season, come into the country in large amounts and are sold directly by private sector importers. Of course these imports, like grapes, quince, almonds, and raisins, are not produced locally. We also import from the north plastic materials, household goods, and other goods. We export to the north goods that are manufactured locally, such as cigarettes, carpets, and slippers. The barter process is conducted under the supervision of the Ministry of Trade whose only role is to regulate the process. The ministry does not interfere in determining quantity, price, or marketing [approach]. All the ministry wants to know is the total price of imports so it can pay for them in local goods and avoid making monetary payments.

To help encourage trade between the two parts of Yemen and the outside world, we are now in the process of executing an agreement to open branches for foreign trade companies in the North. In return, branches for foreign trade companies in the North will be opened in South Yemen. That will enable us to reduce the volume of imports, since we could import one commodity like wheat, for example, for both parts of Yemen. The imported wheat would be unloaded in al-Hudaydah and distributed in both parts of the country. Costs could thus be reduced since the price goes down as the quantity goes up. Recently, agents representing industries in both parts of Yemen were hired to market the products of one part of Yemen in the other part.

We wait for the day when we will have one ministry of trade for both parts of Yemen to manage domestic and foreign trade affairs for a united Yemen. We are working hard to achieve that goal.

## INDIA

### Editorial Praises Gandhi's Trip to China 'Historic'

46070008 Calcutta ANNANDA BAZAR PATRIKA in  
Bengali 26 Dec 88 p 4

[Text] At the end of his 5-day trip to China, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has returned home. Though it may not be compared with Nixon's Chinese expedition in the seventies, the Prime Minister's recent trip was an historic event. Chinese newspapers described this journey for peace as one of the ten main events of their nation. India can also claim that description easily. Another Prime Minister set foot on the Chinese soil after 34 years. Of course, the international environment was very favorable for this trip. All over the world new efforts are being made to solve old problems through compromise. Even Soviet Russia has extended her hand of friendship toward China. In this part of the world, a newly elected democratic government has assumed power in Pakistan. Naturally, it was a very opportune moment for India to try to take the initiative to solve her disputes with China. Rajiv Gandhi proved his statesmanship and his political courage by taking advantage of this opportunity in the final year of his administration. He has taken other non-traditional decision in international affairs. Those steps certain leave room for controversy. As for example, sending Indian soldiers in Sri Lanka or in Maldives. Compared to those actions, taking this trip to China accompanied with his advisors, certainly exemplifies his astuteness and political smartness. Especially after having had eight meetings over seven years on diplomatic levels it has become very clear that without intervention from the highest administrative level, the solution of the border dispute between India and China is not possible. There is no doubt that after Rajiv Gandhi's trip, the possibilities of solving that dispute have become brighter.

The warm reception Rajiv Gandhi received in China makes it apparent that the leaders of that country are also equally aware of the importance of building a cordial relationship with India. It will be reasonable to anticipate that after Mao, and with the adoption of various new policies in China, their policy toward India would also change. Particularly as the Chinese people consider themselves to be a moderately developed country, and their main objective is to hasten their speed of development. Consequently, it was quite normal that aging Deng Xiao Peng, Jhao Zhiang, Li Peng, the leaders of the party and top ranking government officials would engage in sincere discussions with Rajiv Gandhi. In addition to the bilateral issues, they most certainly have discussed the changing political atmosphere of the world. However, they have given more credence to the importance of expanding and intensifying bi-lateral relationship by concluding three agreements. Other than the agreements on science and technology, cultural exchange, and nonmilitary air travel it has been decided to form two joint executive committees in the two countries. The function of one of

them will be to analyze the potentialities, and adopt proper actions in the areas of economic relationship, science and technology, and cultural exchange. The objective of the other committee will be to identify a just and mutually acceptable solution to the border problem. It is unnecessary to stress that, both the committees are extremely important. As a matter of fact, in the joint communique between the two countries, the committees were the main topic of discussion. Most probably, to Indians in general, the decision of forming a joint committee to solve the border problem would appear more important. Especially, as this committee has been asked to act within a certain time frame. Though that time frame has not been ascertained, this directive is especially noteworthy. Just as no one expects that the complex and controversial border problem can be solved overnight, similarly, it is not practical for these countries to stick to their individual positions for ever either.

It is needless to say that the main obstacle between forming sincere friendship between India and China is the border dispute. Rajiv Gandhi's current trip to China has gained particular importance due to the fact that these two countries have been able to develop a policy making body at the highest level. From that perspective this trip is comparable with Jawaharlal Nehru's trip to China 34 years ago. At the culmination of that trip the two countries adopted the policy of "Panchsheel." Thirty-four years later, during the administration of his grandson, the same ideal has surfaced. From the perspective of the events that took place in the interim, this certainly is a step forward. An analysis of various alternatives will make the importance of this agreement of peaceful coexistence very apparent. There were only two alternatives: one, each party would stay where they are now. Second, get entangled in another war in the name of solving the border dispute. However, in the greater national interests of both, India and China, have chosen a third alternative. This is the way of negotiation and compromise. The joint committee is also charged with the responsibility of ensuring that no agitation develops in the border region, and that peace pervades. Considering the excitement that was generated in the Arunachal state two years ago, the importance of this arrangement cannot be denied. In one word, this time the field is ready for solving the problem through negotiations. And, it is hoped that the atmosphere of good will which has been created as a result of Rajiv's trip will not be destroyed by unnecessary political squabbles. It should be remembered that in April 1960 an angry Chou En Lai had to return home empty handed. This time also the Tibet issue has surfaced from some quarters. When Rajiv Gandhi acknowledged China's sovereignty over Tibet, he did not indicate any change of policy; he reiterated India's declared policy in this respect. Those who would want to use Tibet as a political card, may not realize that all over the world the rules of political games are changing very rapidly. Even the players in the Soviet

Union, China and Pakistan have changed. If India cannot play her card properly at this rearranged table, then the loss will be hers alone.

### **Anti-Indian Propaganda Spreading in Nepal**

46240019 New Delhi NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi  
8 Jan 89 pp 1, 8

[Article by Alok Mehta: "Anti-Indian Propaganda Is Increasing in Nepal"]

[Text] Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China has perplexed Nepalese palace officials. Afraid that the time of deriving maximum advantage out of India in the name of Chinese danger may come to an end, the ruling Nepalese leaders are encouraging anti-Indian propaganda and this trend is also gaining momentum.

Despite close relations between the two countries, the Indian prime minister's Chinese visit and the talks between Rajiv Gandhi and the Chinese leaders have received only very brief mention in the Nepalese press. In the course of the entire visit, the government television did not show a single shot of the visit. Insignificant news items were of course shown. During the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] conference also, the Indian prime minister's remarks were relegated to second class importance after those of leaders of very small countries and dismissed in a perfunctory manner.

On the other hand, propaganda is being spread through the Nepalese press that the Indian military is posing a threat on the Nepalese border. The government supported weekly INEP, in its current issue, has prominently published the baseless news item that by increasing its military activities on Nepal's southern border areas, India is trying to intimidate Nepal by exerting psychological pressure on it.

The Nepalese paper has alleged that 'India has raised the number of its military units in many places on Nepal's border regions. Indian soldiers are intruding into the Thouri jungles of Parsa District without any rhyme or reason. No one knows that India seeks to gain by increasing military units on the border when there is nothing unusual going on.'

Referring to well-informed circles without naming the official source, the paper has levied grave allegations of an Indian attack in the Susta region, Indian hooliganism in Nepalganj region and an anti-Nepalese campaign in the Indian press.

Kathmandu based Indian diplomats are very unhappy with these baseless allegations because anti-Indian propaganda is getting more serious every day. Many Nepalese papers like Jwala, Rashtra Pukar, Samiksha, Hindu

and Vimarsh, etc., also routinely carry incendiary material against India and Indians. In a talk with this correspondent, the Indian diplomats expressed the fear that newspapers surviving on government handouts can carry on this campaign only after getting some sort of briefing.

Such is the virulence of anti-Indian propaganda that rumours of a crisis with India concerning Nepal's sovereignty are being spread among the masses. Anti-Indian newspapers are displayed like posters in the crowded areas of Kathmandu and people mass together to lap up this hateful poison.

Talking with the Indians settled in the Terai region of Kathmandu and Janakpur also brought out the sad situation that discrimination against the Terai inhabitants of Nepal is on the rise. On the one hand 6 million Nepalis are earning their livelihood in India and on the other hand, a work permit requirement has gone into effect for the Indians working in Nepal. The Terai laborers do not have the right even to obtain citizenship papers. When Indians settled in Nepal for generations return after marrying in India, the brides are subjected to increasing red tape in getting full citizenship papers. A ban has been placed on recruitment of Hindi-speaking Terai men in the Royal Army. Hindi films and songs are popular in every nook and corner of Nepal but there is a move on to eradicate Hindi from schools and colleges.

Liberal Nepali leaders, officials and common people who appreciate the importance of relations with India are unhappy about this situation. Out of fear that their support for India will be construed to be 'anti-national', they request that no opinion should be published in their name. One such respected Nepali revealed that when following a recent earthquake, India offered its helping hand, the government decided not to accept any more aid from India.

Another Nepali said that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had praised democracy in Nepal. But the Nepali government is not holding a single function to commemorate the Nehru Centennial. While even the tiny countries of far away Europe are holding some kind of program or other for the Nehru Centennial.

A famous Indian settled in Nepal wondered what the government could achieve by spreading hatred against Indians. It will definitely increase difficulties for both Nepalese and Indians settled in each other's countries.

### **Harijans Conversion to Sikh Religion Decried**

46240018 Calcutta RAVIVAR in Hindi  
7 Jan 89 pp 38-42

[Article by Rajesh Rasparia: "Why Are Harijans in Meerut Becoming Sikhs?"]

[Excerpts] Nangla Hareru is a small village situated 10 or 12 kilometers from Mawana in Meerut district. Until 27 November there was not even one Sikh in this village.

Now you can see many young and old men in this village sporting beards, swords, and iron bangles. The faces of these new Sikhs shine with euphoria. They feel honored and protected and are not sorry about their decision.

All these new Sikhs belong to the Harijan caste. Thanks to our government's neglect they were leading horrid lives. This new development is effecting other parts of Meerut now. Thousands of Harijans have mentally prepared themselves to convert to Sikhism in order to escape the atrocious life they are leading now. They have openly declared that they are going to convert to Sikhism because the government has not been fair to them. Elite Hindus in Meerut still consider this possibility of religious conversion by the Harijans as an empty threat. They believe that the Harijans are using blackmail tactics to get their demands accepted. It is important to note that this action of Harijans has no effect on bigoted Hindu sects. These so-called managers of the religion did not raise any objection to this new development.

Harijans' conversion to Sikh religion in Nangla Hareru is a shocking development. This unveils ugliness of our Hindu society. It has been a common practice for the deprived and the persecuted sections of Hindu society to convert to Christian and Muslim religions. Christians have been converting people to their religion in tribal areas for a long time. When Harijans in Meenakshipuram in Southern India converted to Muslim religion en masse in 1981, all Hindu sects had protested vigorously. This large-scale conversion to Sikhism by Harijans is the first incident of its kind. The major question here is: Why did the Harijans in Nangla Hareru decide to convert to Sikh religion?

Nangla Hareru is situated on a major road. The total population is about 8,000. Half of them are Harijans and the other half are Muslims. Most of the residents are very poor and live in mud huts. There are only four or five brick houses in the whole village. Most of the residents are either farm laborers or cobblers. There are only two or four families that can be called well-off. About 50 of these villagers have converted to Sikhism and a gurudwara is expected to be built soon. Not only the remaining Harijans of this village, but also of other villages in Meerut district are planning to convert to Sikhism because of insecurity, discrimination, and neglect by the government. The Sikh mission headquartered in Hapur is very active here. Sikhs are visiting this area in large number and these activities have scared other religious groups.

Harijans have become a thorn in the side of high caste Hindus for the last 40 years because of their desire to gain respect and become politically active. This fact is the main reason why Harijans in Nangla Hareru have converted to Sikhism. Not only the Hindus but the Muslims in this area are against Harijans' getting more political rights or prestige. It would be surprising if Harijans in Nangla Hareru decided to change to Sikhism

because of the persecution of Muslims and not because of Hindu atrocities against them. Actually, this is the real reason for this change of religion. [passage omitted]

This correspondent interviewed several newly converted Sikhs in Nangla Hareru. Their 35 years old leader Giani Prithvi Singh is a cobbler. He has two years of college education. He feels much safer now after changing his religion because "all Sikhs get ready to fight whenever Sikh religion is threatened." All new Sikhs told me that they got respect and love from other Sikhs. They are being treated as equals and are hoping that they will get more respect now. Their major complaint was that the government did not listen to them and worked according to high-caste Hindus' wishes. When asked whether they would become Harijans again if the local government accepts their demands, Prithvi Singh replied that it was too late for such a change. He added that except for 10 to 20 families, all Harijans in the village were ready to change to Sikh religion. Shanti, wife of Harcharan Singh, said that "it was useless to stay in a religion where you were looked down upon. No body came to help when you are persecuted against. We were fed up with the atrocities committed by Mirs [Muslims] and decided to embrace Sikhism." I also interviewed Meher Singh, preacher at the Sikh mission in Hapur. Meher Singh who has 2 years of college told me that these people were admitted into the Sikh faith at their own request. He hoped that still more Harijans will convert to Sikhism. He avoided telling me exactly how many more did he expect. He did, however, say that a gurudwara would be constructed soon with money from their mission.

The Muslims in Nangla Hareru are greatly effected by this change in religion. Many Muslims have complained about shots being fired at night. Cars full of Sikhs have started visiting Nangla Hareru. The Muslims believe that the newly converted Sikhs will be used to help hide the terrorists from the law. The Muslims deny committing any atrocities against the Harijans. When referred to incidents of Harijan beating during the recent gram pramukh [mayor] elections, one elderly Muslim commented that everyone has to take their share of rewards and punishment.

There have been many violent incidents after gram pramukh elections in Meerut district. The district administration, however, said that such violence has been occurring all over Uttar Pradesh. Harijans in 60-70 villages in Mahipura, Dhanupura, Badjadka, and Tulehra districts were outraged at the injustice in Meerut district. Om Prakash Dalit of Dalit Sena [Army of the downtrodden] has filed a long letter containing details of injustice against Harijans during the recent elections in Meerut. The district authorities did not take any action, however. Harijans claim that they are accused of false crimes of burglary and violence. One example of the district authorities neglect is that two of the elected Harijan gram pradhans [mayors] have not been given any assistance in taking charge of their offices from the retiring gram pradhans.

Talks about changing to Sikhism are spreading in Nangla Agedy, Kudi Kamalpur, Bhisham Nagar Tigri, Khalid Pur, and Akbar Pur in Mawana tehsil [sub-division]; Tikri in Bagpat tehsil; and Sawaii and Salar Pur villages of Sarghana tehsil. The Harijans living in these villages have declared that they will convert to Sikhism if atrocities by high-caste Hindus and Muslims, false arrests, and injustice against them are not stopped.

Hindu organizations have not reacted at the development in Nangla Hareru the way they did when Harijans in Meenakshipuram had embraced Muslim religion. Nangla Hareru Harijans claim that they had requested the Arya Samaj [prominent Hindu organization] to help them. The Arya Samaj did not show any interest. Similarly, Bajrang Dal, Rashtarya Sawayam Sevak Sangh, and Shiv Sena [all Hindu organizations] did not take any action. One reason for this neglect could be that these organizations still consider Sikhism as a branch of Hindu religion. The leaders of Sikh religions do not agree with this stand. That is, however, another story.

The district authorities do not seem to be concerned about this religious conversion. Vijay Sharma, Meerut's district commissioner, said that religion was a personal decision and the government could not intervene in it. He had deputed Ramesh Chandani, assistant commissioner for finance, to Nangla Hareru to investigate the problem. According to the villagers, the assistant commissioner wanted to know if they were willing to reconvert their previous religion if their demands were met. He had to return without any success. The district commissioner did not even remember that he had visited Nangla Hareru during the last elections.

A lot of people in Meerut consider the harijan declaration to change to Sikhism as a false threat. They cite the 1981 incident to support their stand. About 1,000 Harijan students who were tired of being persecuted by high-caste Hindu students had threatened to convert to Islam. They had never changed their religion. According to Om Prakash Dalit, it was the timely intervention of police superintendent Payare Lal and the fact that high-caste Hindu students had apologized for their behavior that had prevented the threatened religious conversion.

Two old churches in Sarghana and Shivalkhas villages in Meerut district also show that the tendency to change religion is an old tradition. However, the fact that Bagpat and Chhaprauli areas in Meerut are notorious for cruelties toward Harijans, and the Harijans there did not change their religion puzzle social scientists. Harijans in Nangla Hareru had let their beards grow long before they converted to Sikhism. It shows that the decision to change religion was made a long time ago and the elections only precipitated the event. This is confirmed by the new Sikhs in Nangla Hareru. Therefore, we cannot ignore conversion to Sikhism by more Harijans as an empty threat.

Why did not these Harijans become Buddhists or Christians? They could not, of course, become Muslims as they were changing their religion because of Muslim atrocities. Some Harijans responded that lakhs of Harijans had embraced Buddhism during Dr Amedakar's time. This did not help them get any respect. People change religion for more social acceptance. One reason for selecting Sikh religion is that it will allow them to keep a knife [part of a Sikh's dress] to protect themselves. Harijans are not allowed to keep any weapon. Young Muslims in Nangla Hareru are afraid that Harijans will be able to bear weapons now as Sikhs. The Muslim faces showed fear about this possibility.

A resident of Mawana subdivision said that a proposed map of Khalistan [country demanded by Sikh militants] shows this specific area of Meerut as part of Khalistan. Sikh movement in this area must be a part of a larger plan. Perhaps this sounds very far fetched, but we cannot deny the fact that Harijans' conversion to Sikhism will disrupt the racial and religious balance here. Harijans will become a permanent problems once they have access to weapons. After all they are converting to Sikhism to escape persecution, have security, and social prestige.

**Pan-Tribal Insurgency Group Reported Formed**  
*56500086 New Delhi PATRIOT in English 8 Jan 89 p 5*

[Text] Ukhrul (Manipur), Jan 7 (PTI)—Periodic sports of insurgency in Manipur and discovery of a new underground outfit with possible connections with the notorious National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) has made the army work overtime during 1988 amid reports of a pan tribal insurgency movement rearing its head in the North East.

Senior army officials at Imphal and here told a group of visiting newsmen from Delhi that the activities of the hostiles have exposed the "grand design" of the underground groups of making an attempt to sever the North-East from the rest of the country.

"Whether (the design) is achievable or not, the insurgents are trying to sell this concept", they said while underlining the need for dedicated efforts by the civil administration to thwart any such attempts.

According to intelligence reports, the insurgent groups comprising the NSCN, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) of Manipur, the Naga Federal Government, United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) and some Meithi extremists in collaboration with the Kachin Liberation Army (KLA) across the Burmese border are making a bid to float an umbrella organisation.

An army commandant said, the discovery of several leaflets in the past one month carrying appeals by a previously unheard of outfit, Peoples Salvation Army, seeking support from the civilian population indicates the presence of another underground outfit.

"The outfit is probably orchestrated from Kohima", he added.

The extremist infested districts of Ukhrul and Tamenglong, which is the springboard for several operations by the NSCN, has witnessed five ambushes by the NSCN on army personnel last year resulting in the death of 14 security personnel including two army Majors.

In one single ambush on 19 April last, 10 CRPF jawans were killed in an attack on a government treasury convoy and a loss of Rs 60 lakh.

In Ukhrul alone, seven persons were shot dead by suspected NSCN hostiles during the one month period from 22 October last indicating that the under ground movement still had some clout.

Insurgency in this remote mountainous border district overlooking the Shiroy mountains is at the dictates of the Tangkul Naga faction of NSCN who form the dominant group of the council from the point of view of Manipur rebels.

The Naga hostiles, who have spilled over to Manipur during the past eight years, have chosen Ukhrul and Tamenglong as their base camps since there were several caves and inaccessible thick jungles making it a safe hide-out.

The NSCN has an estimated strength of 450 hostiles in Manipur in addition to the presence of another underground outfit, the People's Liberation Army of Manipur which has a following of 150 members.

"Though insurgency in Nagaland, the main hub of NSCN, is of a lower intensity, in Manipur it is of a greater magnitude", according to senior officers of a corps entrusted with the over-all conduct of counter-insurgency operations in the North-East.

Army officials dwelt at length to rebut charges of alleged excesses by the security personnel and torture of civilians during combing operations.

"We have not resorted to anything other than arms-twisting to get information from people", they said.

In this context, they referred to several cases filed against the army by the Naga People Movement for human rights and the Manipur baptist convention in the Guwahati High Court alleging torture of civilians. The petitions have sought a relief to the amount of Rs 70 lakh by way of compensation.

During informal chats with newsmen, army officials feared that the army might lose its 'combat efficiency' during the operations if it is caught in the 'legal quagmire'.

Documents recovered during a raid on the underground camps indicated the professional approach of NSCN in keeping track of accounts. Some of the entries refer to money obtained during ambushes, alleged bribes to government officials and payment to social organisations fighting for their cause.

Extortion is also part of the NSCN's activities which is categorised under the overhead of house tax in the 'account books'.

The account books contained signatures of Anges Shimre, styling himself as the foreign secretary of NSCN and Minghshamang, chairman of the southern council of Nagaland.

Minghshamang, who had the power to award death sentence to anyone at his will, has since surrendered to the army in July last. He has voluntarily stayed with the army and does not plan to come out in the open for fear of hostile attacks.

One disturbing phenomenon the army is faced with is the surrender by the hostiles not being complete. Some of them get back to the NSCN fold after staying for a few days with the family members.

#### **Splinter Communist Groups Form New 'Communist Party'**

46001256 Madras *THE HINDU in English*  
24 Dec 88 p 3

[Text] Bombay, Dec 23. A new left party—the Communist Party—has been formed here after a two-day meeting when the All-India Communist Party, the Indian Communist Party and the All-India Communist Coordination Committee decided to merge because the constituents felt that the left movement "had to move to a qualitatively new stage." Mr S. A. Dange is the chairman and Mr Mohit Sen, general secretary.

However, the new party "would be a party of continuation, a bearer of the glorious tradition which began in December, 1925 at Kanpur" and would be a party of "communist renewal and of advance," Mr Mohit Sen said at a press conference convened to announce the "new communist formation" which will consider the Congress(I) as the "main anti-imperialist, democratic force in the country."

He said, "It will be a party of creative Marxism-Leninism basing on the method and theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin. They are our leaders. It will learn from the work of Roza Luxembourg, Antonio Gramsci, Nikolai Bukharin and from that of P. C. Joshi, Ajoy Ghosh and S. A. Dange." At the same time, it will "draw sustenance from the contribution to the socialist thought made by Jawaharlal Nehru and Acharya Narendra Deva.

The four basic principles that would guide the activities of the Communist Party are:

To deliver the main blow against imperialism and internal reaction, the main enemies of the nation who have launched the destabilisation offensive; to adopt the tactics of unity and struggle in relation to the Congress(I) which is the main anti-imperialist, democratic force in the country; to unite all peace loving, patriotic and progressive communist parties to realise the objective of a national democratic government; and to express solidarity with the second Soviet revolution of *Perestroika* and *Glasnost* and popularise it in India.

In Tamil Nadu, it would participate in the Assembly elections, and is in dialogue with the Congress(I) for seat adjustments. It would oppose the DMK. The Indian Communist Party will retain the identity till the polls are over and then go under the name of the Communist Party.

Asked why the Communist Party has made a plea to the CPI and the CPI(M)—along with the naxalites and non-party communists—to “discuss, debate and act together in whatever form is appropriate and possible” despite the way the constituents of the Communist Party were spurned by them in Tamil Nadu, Mr Sen said that “It was not a pious chant”, but an attempt to “try and change the CPI to bring it back to its traditional moorings. There are a majority of communists in both the parties who would like the two parties to play a revolutionary role. That is why our appeal is for the communist conscience.”

**Leftists Said To Display Rare Unity**  
46070011 Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA  
in Bengali 4 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by Shivdas Bannerjee: “The Unity Displayed at the CPM Party Congress Held in Trivandrum Was Quite Rare”]

[Text] How can there be a Party Congress without lots of hair splitting arguments? Almost all over the world, the history of the Communist movement speaks of this truth. In this country the history of the Communist movement goes back more than 60 years. During this time there have been many arguments and differences of opinions. As a result, there have been divisions in the movement more than once.

From this perspective, the developments at the Trivandrum Congress of the CPM [Communist Party India (Marxist)] is bound to surprise everybody. All the proposals were adopted unanimously. There was even unanimity in the forming of policy implementation and policy formulating committees. When octogenarian E M S Namboodiripad who was elected general secretary of the Party for the third consecutive time, was delivering his concluding speech before more than 700 delegates and observers, his voice had traces of pride.

Not only outsiders but most likely even party members did not expect the Party Congress would come to an end without any argument. However, there were some prior indications of storm. Buddhadev Bhattacharya, a member of the party's Central Committee and a member of the Secretariat of the State Committees, suddenly moved up his date of departure from Calcutta to Trivandrum. It was apparent that his objective was to lobby with the CPM leaders of Kerala prior to the sessions of the Congress. If the delegates from West Bengal and Kerala could come to an agreement on various issues, especially concerning their opinions about Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress Party, their version would receive prominence at the meeting of the central committee as well as at the Party Congress. The meeting of the Central Committee was scheduled to be held immediately prior to the session of the Party Congress. Since all controversy at the Party Congress normally has its genesis either at the meeting of the Central Committee or at the meeting of the politburo, if the meeting of the Central Committee concludes without any crisis, the Party Congress also sails through without any problem.

The unanimity that was displayed at the Party Congress is quite rare. One of the main reasons was that this time the Party's adopted course of action was determined according to the principles of the CPM as adopted in the sixties. Implementing of mass revolution to uproot the then current government was made a part of the agenda. In addition, capturing of power in one or more states was also mentioned.

It is a fact that the change in the chemistry of the CPM in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura has brought massive transformation in the party's ideology and political outlook. “Active revolution” is no longer heard from the members of the party. At the Trivandrum Congress the rationale for the search for necessary political and ideological loop holes for joining forces with other democratic and secular parties became very apparent. It is also not difficult to understand the unanimity in the political organizational report concerning adoption of different strategies under different circumstances in order to win in the general election. In the two main resolutions nothing more than this was even mentioned.

Of course, if the Party wants to become a participant in the very order which it is determined to uproot, this could entail considerable risk. The leaders of the party were aware of this possibility. But, they had no other alternative but to go along with the resolution. Because, if “active revolution” is excluded, there is no other path. Thus far the party's progress has not kept up with the expectation of the party's leaders, especially in the Hindi belt. The outcome of the election may transform all that.

However, the biggest concern was that in the states where the CPM is in power, many mistakes and weakness have become evident in every level of the party apparatus. One segment of the party workers have been able to enjoy the benefits while another could not.

Struggles between groups have become visible. At every level, apathy has given rise to organizational retardation. The Party's leaders have accepted such problems as inevitable. To address this issue, the Central Committee has adopted a resolution stating that after the next general election one organizational session of the party will be convened.

The analysis of the party's unanimity at the Trivandrum Congress would remain incomplete if the roles of some of the top ranking leaders of the Party were not mentioned. For more than one year it had been said that in order to defeat the Congress in the next general election the CPM of West Bengal was prepared to form a united front with BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and other opposition parties. This publicity was carried out primarily against the wishes of West Bengal Chief Minister Jyoti Basu. His feelings in this matter are that the leftist parties should join hands and form electoral alliances with other centrist, secular and democratic forces and parties. However, the problem was that in those areas where BJP has considerable power, how can the CPM compel its followers to not to cooperate with it? Finally, the Party Congress has relented to this idea.

Secondly, it was seen that more so than any other leader of the politburo, C T Randive was more critical of the Soviet Union and Gorbachev, especially on the issue of attacks on Stalin in the various section of the Russian media. Two fact sheets were distributed at the Party Congress with the objective of discussing this matter. However, this was eliminated from the agenda, mainly in consideration of the presence of many foreign delegates, and also due to the urgency of discussing other important political and strategic issues.

Thirdly, the issue that could have sparked debate was the reelection of Namboodiripad. He was elected to the position of the General Secretary for the third consecutive terms. If he would have stepped aside due to health reasons, the claim of Harkishen Singh Surjit for this position would have been the strongest, because Jyoti Babu would not renounce his responsibilities in his state to accept this political position.

From all these it appears that the leaders had discussed these issues behind the scene, and came to an understanding beforehand. These leaders were Jyoti Babu, Namboodiripad, Randive and Basavpunniah. As a result of this understandings, all the resolutions at the Party Congress were unanimously approved. One noteworthy aspect of this Party Congress was that after almost two decades Randive once again gained importance.

When asked about the behind the scene agreement between the leaders, namboodiripad said that without considering their individual priorities, the leaders had mutually discussed these issues at least once. As a result, a mutually acceptable strategic line was evolved. Consequently, there could not be any more confusion in this

matter. However, from the manner in which Namboodiripad repeatedly voiced his opinions concerning Jyoti Babu's honesty, it appears his objective was to criticize him. This unseemly aspect may have been preplanned.

Now let us discuss the activities of the delegates from West Bengal at the Congress. As a matter of fact, they had kept to themselves. They did not even converse nor exchange greetings with others, or with journalists. When the Party Congress was running full swing, their main curiosity was to find out who among them would be nominated to the membership of the powerful Central Secretariat. It was known at that time that Sunil Mitra's chances were greater than those of Biplab Dasgupta or Mohammad Amin. Finally this proved to be accurate. Biman Basu tries to attract everybody's attention at the inaugural session. He was going up and down the platform repeatedly. He even whispered something to Surjit. However, most likely due to his closeness to Jyoti Basu, Buddhadev Bhattacharya prepared the list of speakers from among the delegates from West Bengal. In his customary manner Buddhadev Bhattacharya was doing everything in a calm manner; there was no exhibitionism in his actions. As a result he became the favorite among the delegates from Kerala.

#### **Analyst Suggests Ways To Preserve National Unity**

*46240021 Calcutta RAVIVAR in Hindi  
14 Jan 89 pp 16-18*

[Article by Madhu Limaye: "Will India Continue To Exist As a Nation?"]

[Text] As we approach the last decade of the 20th century, we notice awesome changes in human life. The cumulative impression on our minds is one of increasing complications and failure to find any sort of solution to problems. Rapidly growing population, increasing urbanization, ubiquitous corruption and stagnation in the pace of economic progress are our tough problems. The mind gets oppressed by forebodings regarding the future on account of the terrible unemployment one sees in natural life and the clear inability at every step of the way to resolve problems.

Gathering clouds of extremism and senseless violence in which even pregnant women and 2 year-old children are not spared, grave conditions in Jammu and Kashmir, unending revolt in the Northeast, widespread disaffection in aborigines areas (which include Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal areas), virulence of growing casteist conflicts in rural areas, the wave of rising communalism and riots in urban areas, and most of all, the vitiated condition of law and order and administration have produced a grave crisis for survival of our country and nation.

Barely 40 years after our independence, the constitution (and institutions) created by Nehru, Patel and their associates, are now crumbling.

For centuries this country was without a unified, strong and united state. Historians often say that when foreign invaders came here they could not in any way change the pace of life of the self-sufficient rural masses. But today we cannot be satisfied with this kind of talk and nor can we justify our shameful past by whitewashing it. The year 1947 was the turning point in this shameful history. Today India is not a country fragmented into half a million self-sufficient units. Modern means of communication, revolutionary scientific changes, technical progress, and unification of trade, finance and economy have joined the country so closely that a political breakdown cannot occur without playing havoc with millions of lives.

The foundation of an organized country, the control of which extends to vast provinces, is a new achievement in human history. Empires of the past with their loose administration cannot hold comparison with modern countries' efficient administration over vast areas. Greek city states had a special place in human development but they were geographically limited. Moreover their freedom was restricted within very narrow limits. Vast population of slaves had no rights. Women had no place in public life. Only adult men had rights of citizenship.

Till recently, unrestrained rule was the major political system all over the world. At the top was the king or emperor, all the rest were subjects. So much so that even in Britain right through the beginning of the 20th century voting rights were limited. Prior to the reforms of 1832 as many as 1.5 million people did not have rights to vote. For 200 years Britain experienced geographic and economic expansion but the ruling group remained the aristocracy.

The fruits of the continuous struggle of 3-4 generations of freedom fighters were the establishment of a country based on equal citizenship, where administrative rules applied equally throughout the country. At one stroke the entire adult population of the country was given voting rights irrespective of caste, sex or creed. We set up such a system of all-India services at the national level through which a unified country may be run. In fact we tried to make as much progress in a brief time as had taken centuries to achieve in other places.

For centuries there was anarchy in India and it remained fragmented in several parts. In such a country the top most priority should be efforts to create an orderly and rational state. Today survival of this rational and lawful state is in jeopardy. The public cannot experience the blessings of freedom under the conditions of lawlessness. Freedom can flourish only within an organized state.

In a democratic country with a written constitution, where fundamental rights are available and there are hierarchies of courts which can implement them, the burden of security of an organized state will fall naturally chiefly on the various police forces. But in most parts of

India police forces have completely lost their sense of duty. They have become cruel and corrupt. Not only Punjab but Bihar too has moved far toward anarchy. Conditions are not very good in other parts of the country. In Bihar, the police have not only joined the criminals and the oppressors but have themselves become cruel and oppressive. The collusion of criminals and police is such a cancer that it is eating into the vitals of India. There is not the slightest exaggeration in this statement. Punjab's extremism, Andhra Pradesh's Naxalite uprising and Northeast's revolts are doubtless grave threats, but the breakdown of an organized state and its change into state based solely on force is a far more terrible crisis in comparison with the above dangers. When law enforcing agencies, secret services and the bureaucracy have become corrupt, when they have no respect for law and when they themselves begin to violate law, then how can you expect that they will maintain order.

During the last two months Bihar police on two occasions committed terrible crimes on backward peoples and aboriginal tribes. These people are from the former Santhal Pargana region (now this region has been divided into three districts). The first incident took place in Parhria village in Devghar region. The fact that nothing much was done in the above case encouraged the police force to commit gang rape on aboriginal women in the nearby Godda district.

Only recently, a Congress member of parliament from Maharashtra told me of two incidents which throw light on the deteriorating conditions in that state. It is noteworthy that till recently this state was counted among the very best states from the administrative point of view. A rich money lender wanted to evict a tenant from his house, even though he had been living there legally for years. No court which had any respect for law could force him to vacate. Finally the house owner got in touch with the Shiv Sena for help. Now the Shiv Sena hooligans reached there. By a show of force, they made the tenant's life miserable. He was threatened that if he did not vacate by the evening, his wife and daughter would be disrobed. Shiv Sena passed on a portion of the money they received to the local police station. The second incident happened in Bombay. People of a religious community started using a public park for their prayers. This angered the local residents and they complained to the police, but nothing happened. Finally they approached the Shiv Sena. The Shiv Sena workers took the matter in their hands and dislodged the other party who had been forcibly occupying the public place. The local residents there were pleased and Shiv Sena gained greater prestige and following.

These kinds of incidents are happening every day all over the country. I ask whether incidents like this can be permitted in any organized state? In an organized state, instead of forcibly evicting a tenant by hoodlums, the tenant would have been accorded protection. Similarly

in an organized state people playing mischief in a public place in the name of religion would have been stopped. But in the above cases the state and the police both failed to discharge their duties.

Next to the fair application of law comes defense of democratic institutions. Under our constitution all agencies, authorities and institutions have been given only limited rights. But in reality each agency, authority and institution, instead of remaining within the laid down limits is always trying to extend its sphere of operation. Recently we saw instances of this extension of sphere of operation in Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra. In both places the speakers committed disrespectful conduct. The members also misused their special privileges which is a clear violation of the constitution.

In most legislative assemblies laws are enacted very carelessly and haphazardly. Select committees no longer function. Meaningless ordinances are promulgated and not only law but even constitutional amendments are carried out just to please ordinary voters. By making unnecessary changes in criminal law, tough punishments are being mandated. This satisfies various sections of society and special interest groups. Legislators regard this as a great achievement. The ministry has no concern with whether anyone has actually received a tough sentence under the new tough laws.

In my opinion the saddest aspect of the situation is the power that lies with money. Money that results from manufacturing is not so dangerous in its interference as black money that comes from smugglers, mafia groups, traders in illicit liquor, dealers in narcotics and tax dodgers. Criminalization of politics which is proceeding at a rapid pace, is a negation of rule of law. Now criminal elements have entered state legislatures and are becoming famous in the guise of peoples' representatives.

Only recently at the time of election of the Bihar state assembly, two members, who had been charged with crime but were not being held under any laws, were brought to Patna on orders of the election officer so that they could exercise their voting rights. The Bihar ministry secretariat was worried over this development and it asked for clarification about this from the election commissioner. The election commissioner upheld their objection. Despite this, two organized crime bosses, Raminder Kumar Singh and Surajdev Singh entered the assembly house on the day of election and exercised their influence. The Chief Minister Bhagwat Jha Azad overlooked it. It appears from this that gradually groups dominated by organized crime will replace the traditional political parties. Powerful organizations like Shiv Sena and Haji Mastan have already taken away the communal flag from the more moderate Bharatiya Janata Party and Muslim League.

But state assemblies alone cannot be held responsible for the expansion of corruption in the workplace. The courts are as much to blame for this. The greed and avarice of

lawyers and acquiescence by justices has destroyed the purity and authority of judicial courts. At the same time instead of remaining within the limits imposed by the constitution, the courts interfere in prohibited fields as for instance the president's right to grant pardon. The influence of money has grown so much that a chief justice, Chenappa Reddi expressed his amazement in open court at why the supreme court had accorded top priority to the cases of economically powerful liquor traders (of Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh).

We are aware how the Supreme Court procrastinates in taking decisions on important constitutional issues. Look how long it took in deciding the question of issuing the same ordinance over and over again when the Lucknow bench of the Allahabad High Court had already announced that this was a violation of the constitution. The same thing happened regarding the anti-defection law. Since then the Jammu and Kashmir assembly has been dissolved twice. The Punjab assembly was also dismissed. The Tamil Nadu assembly was also dissolved. One day the parliament will also be dissolved. But the Supreme Court cannot find time to pronounce on the legality of the anti-defection law. During this time, disgruntled members of the Congress party were also forced to cast their votes in favor of the 59th constitutional amendment bill. Even if the Supreme Court refuses to take a decision, the issues will still get resolved one way or the other. In that case why waste money on the Supreme Court?

I doubt that the solution to these problems lies in some basic change in the system such as the presidential form of government or granting of complete autonomy to the states. These will further aggravate the evil. To me it appears that there is more possibility of fighting this evil by intelligent implementation of the following reforms.

1. The rebirth of internal discussions and debates within political parties and election of top level committees.
2. Examination of legislators by select-committees, regular meetings of chairmen, training of legislators and chairmen of the houses.
3. A cut in administrative expenditures, the retraining of police, creation of citizen committees so that complaints against the law enforcing agencies may be removed and an end to political interference in appointments and transfers.
4. Taxation to the extent possible for citizen and social welfare services.
5. Greater coordination among the center, states and the local bodies and division of resources and means on an objective basis, constitutional provisions mandating local elections and by-elections in a timely manner.
6. In high courts emphasis on written instead of verbal arguments.

7. Sharing of power with the backward and depressed sections of society. (During the last 40 years the secret of the power of the Congress Party has been that it created for itself new avenues of progress by making the newly emerging classes partners in political power. Later these sources of renewal began drying up resulting in tensions and quarrels.)

8. These days TV and radio are providing excessive patronage to religion, religious ceremonies and superstitions. Rules and regulations should be enforced to stop it.

If in the next few years, these changes which will have a cumulative long-term effect, are not brought about, India will gradually decay into a state where brute force is the only reality. The other unavoidable aspect of such a state will be all-round chaos, and overwhelming of the masses by robbers, dacoits and organized crime. India's unity itself will then be uncertain and precarious and the country will fall prey to overt or covert attacks by foreign powers.

## IRAN

### Iranian Minister Explains Arms Show Presence 34190128z Libreville L'UNION in French 26 Jan 89 p 7

[Interview with Iranian Defense Minister Mohammad Hoseyn Jalali by Claude Moussavou—in Libreville, date not given; first paragraph is L'UNION introduction]

[Text] The Iranian delegation led by General Mohammad Hoseyn Jalali that took part in the SECARM 89 (Security and Arms) Show returned to Tehran today after making a remarkable impression at the 12-March Buildings' exhibition. Iran's first arms "sortie" after a period of revolutionary reclusion is perceived as an expression of Iran's willingness to open itself to the world. Shortly before his departure we met the defense minister and delegation head, Mr Mohammad Hoseyn Jalali, at the Iranian Embassy and he gave us his impressions of SECARM 89 in an exclusive interview.

[L'Union] Mr Minister, what significance do you attach to SECARM 89?

[Jalali] Our very-high-level participation in the SECARM 89 arms and equipment exhibition accords with the principles of our Muslim faith and our ideology. The Islamic faith, whose precepts we follow, invites us to cooperate with all the world's developing countries, and our conviction is based on the principle of equality and fraternity. We are also aware that Gabon defends the same international political ideals we do: to start with, the condemnation of South Africa's apartheid policy, opposition to Israel's occupation of Palestine, and our common views within OPEC (Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries).

It goes without saying that the Islamic faith of President Bongo encouraged us to accept the invitation addressed to us by our counterpart in Gabon's national Defense, Mr Julien Mpouho-Epigat. However, we point out that it is the first time we have gone outside our borders to participate in this kind of event.

[L'UNION] Why did you choose Gabon and the SECARM 89 Show for this first time out?

[Jalali] We came to SECARM 89 to show Gabon and Africans our military potential and our willingness to cooperate. Since the Iranian Revolution, we have followed a policy of military self-sufficiency, and now we are proud to say that the equipment and military materiel we exhibit are produced by Iranian industry on every level: scientific research, manufacture of parts, adjustment and assembly.

[L'UNION] Can you tell us, Mr Minister, about the equipment and materiel that you are exhibiting at your stand at the 12-March Buildings?

[Jalali] In our opinion, the war imposed on us by Iraq is not over. It will be ended within the framework of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 598, which calls for the immediate withdrawal of troops to internationally recognized borders. As we speak, a part of our country is still under Iraqi occupation. We therefore think that total peace will prevail only when Iraq desists from sabotaging this resolution.

On the subject of equipment and weapons, we are exhibiting defense materiel consisting of munitions, machineguns, mortars, and cannons. We also have several kinds of explosive devices at our stand, in the tradition of anti-tank and anti-personnel mines. We also offer light weapons: light machineguns and hand-held guns. The mortars are of different calibers (60, 80, 81, and 120).

In the communications area, we are presenting field telephones, telephones, and AM and FM transmitters. Our heavy weaponry consists of ground-to-ground missiles, also of different calibers.

In the area of mechanics, we are informing our potential partners of our maintenance capabilities for aircraft (planes, helicopters, etc.) and for cinematographic, detection, and video devices. This arsenal is only a miniscule part of our equipment and weapons.

[L'UNION] Mr Minister, what explains your personal presence and that of your vice-minister at the SECARM 89 Exhibition? Should we allude to the Iranian diplomatic offensive now being talked about by international opinion?

[Jalali] Islam prohibits war, just as it recommends defense and rejection and prevention of aggression. Our war with Iraq falls precisely within that category. And

the international community knows we are the target of aggression. Our foreign policy is based on the principle of nonacceptance of aggression and rejection of injustice. It is from that vantage point that we maintain diplomatic relations with a large proportion of the countries of the world, except the United States, Israel, and South Africa. The United States because they conduct a diplomacy

based on aggression, South Africa because of its policy of apartheid, and Israel for its illegal occupation of the Palestinian territories. Our presence in Libreville and particularly at SECARM 89 is thus a demonstration of Iran's willingness to cooperate on every level with Gabon in mutual respect of the principles of equality, independence, and state sovereignty.

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